



This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

### Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

- + *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.
- + *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.
- + *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.
- + *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

### About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at <http://books.google.com/>



---

BETWEEN

CAPTAIN RICHARD SPRYE,

AND

THE RT. HON. WILLIAM-EWART GLADSTONE,  
M.P. FOR SOUTH LANCASHIRE,  
CHANCELLOR OF H.M.'S EXCHEQUER, &c.,

ON

THE COMMERCIAL OPENING OF  
THE SHAN STATES,

AND

WESTERN INLAND CHINA,

BY RAILWAY, DIRECT FROM

RANGOON.

WITH A MAP.

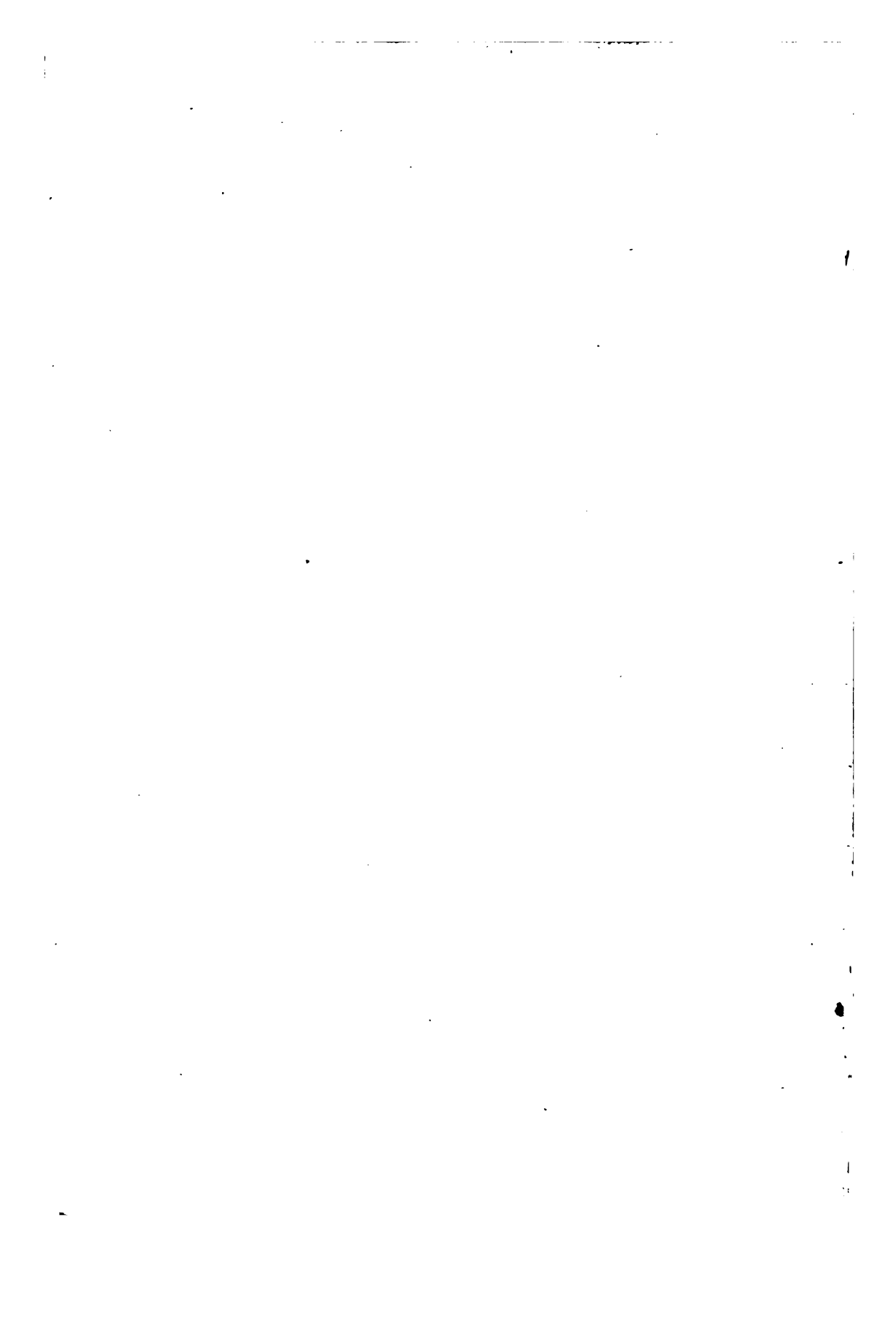
LONDON: 1865.

PRINTED FOR PRIVATE CIRCULATION ONLY.

5420



$$\begin{array}{r} 549\overline{5} \\ 80 \end{array}$$



BETWEEN

CAPTAIN RICHARD SPRYE,

AND

THE RT. HON. WILLIAM-EWART GLADSTONE,

M.P. FOR SOUTH LANCASHIRE,

CHANCELLOR OF H.M.'S EXCHEQUER, &C.,

ON

THE COMMERCIAL OPENING OF

THE SHAN STATES,

AND

WESTERN INLAND CHINA,

BY RAILWAY, DIRECT FROM

RANGOON.

WITH A MAP.

LONDON: 1865.

PRINTED FOR PRIVATE CIRCULATION ONLY.

5490-

NE CEDE MALIS, SED CONTRA.



TO

HENRY DUCKWORTH, ESQ., OF LIVERPOOL,

F.R.G.S., &c., &c.,

AND

THE MANUFACTURERS, MERCHANTS, SHIPBUILDERS, SHIPOWNERS,  
AND BANKERS, OF SOUTH LANCASHIRE, WHOSE SEVERAL COMMERCIAL CHAMBERS AND ASSOCIATIONS HAVE, SINCE 1859, SENT UP NUMEROUS MEMORIALS TO HER MAJESTY'S MINISTERS IN FAVOUR OF THE COMMERCIAL OPENING OF THE SHAN STATES AND INLAND WEST OF CHINA PROPER, BY RAILWAY DIRECT FROM THE PORT OF RANGOON, THE FOLLOWING CORRESPONDENCE ON THE SUBJECT WITH ONE OF THEIR REPRESENTATIVES IN PARLIAMENT, PRINTED FOR PRIVATE CIRCULATION ONLY, IS INSCRIBED BY THEIR FAITHFUL FRIENDS, THE PROJECTORS OF AND HOPEFUL LABOURERS FOR THAT EXTENSION OF FOREIGN COMMERCE—THE SUREST BASIS OF INTERNATIONAL PEACE AND NATIONAL PROSPERITY, AS IT IS THE BEST PIONEER OF CHRISTIANITY AND CIVILISATION.

RICHARD SPRYE,

REYNELL. H. F. SPRYE.

SOUTH LODGE, CAMPDEN HILL, W.,

30TH NOVEMBER 1865.

TENTANDO SUPERABIS.

-  
-  
b  
-  
r  
B  
  
B  
B  
r  
G  
S  
S  
1  
;  
1  
3  
1  
1  
S  
  
1  
F  
-  
1  
1  
2

Map No. IX.  
Pamphlet No. VII.  
(NOT PRINTED FOR SALE.)

# THE SHAN S

PROVINCES.	Area in Square Miles
1. Yunnan .....	107,0
2. Szechuen .....	100,0
3. Kamsah .....	70,0
4. Shensi .....	70,0
5. Kwei-chow .....	64,0
6. Kwangsi .....	72,0
Total in the six provinces	561,0

Rangoon to North-east  
North-east British Pegu

Shoo-Gyen, via Kiang-Hun  
Estimated

Compiled by Capt. RICHARD  
Telegraph, by land, from  
South Lo

BRITISH

## INTRODUCTION.

THE following Correspondence with H.M.'s Chancellor of the Exchequer, as one of the representatives in Parliament of the manufacturing, shipping, and mercantile constituency of South Lancashire, not having been written on either side for publication, and Mr. Gladstone's concurrence in its being printed having been asked, as "for private circulation only," it must be so considered by those to whom we may send it, or into whose hands it may otherwise fall.

As introductory to it, and explanatory of its seeming freedom of style towards a leading Member of the Cabinet, and of its condemnatory tone towards H.M.'s Ministers generally, for their persistent disregard of our efforts to draw their official attention to the many great and permanent advantages England and India must derive from the commercial opening of the extensive and populous Shan States and western inland provinces of China Proper, and from the extension of the Indo-European Telegraph from eastern Pegu, *by land*, to Hong-Kong and the Chinese Open Ports ; it is right to state, briefly, not only what have been our long individual labours to effect the realization of those projects, but how greatly those labours have been seconded and aided by the manufacturing and commercial interests of the country ; and how very negative has been the attention paid by the Government to such continued and well supported appeals to them for that peaceful extension of the country's foreign trade.

It was at the commencement of the year 1852, now fourteen years since, that—having originally, when serving in what is now a part of British Burma, submitted our views to a Governor-General of India—we first addressed H.M.'s Ministers, soliciting their attention to the rich field which existed, generally, in Eastern Asia, for the peaceful and profitable extension of the foreign trade of the United Kingdoms ; but more especially as regarded Burma or Ava, Siam, the West of China, and Japan. In reply to two letters we wrote on the subject to H.M.'s

then Foreign Secretary, the Earl of Malmesbury, dated the 24th of March and 6th of April, 1852, his Lordship informed us, under date the 15th of that April,—“that the attention of H.M.’s Government is, “at this moment, much occupied with the advancement of British “commercial interests in Siam and the neighbouring countries.” Yet, and notwithstanding that, as regarded Siam, the subject was also then being urged on ministerial consideration by influential merchant firms and several Chambers of Commerce, no action was taken by Government in the matter, either with Siam, Ava, or the other countries named by us, until the year 1854.

Then, Sir John Bowring, who held the important and very busy offices of Governor and Commander-in-Chief of Hong-Kong, and Chief Supervisor of our trade with China; who had the consequent control of our large naval and military forces then in that part of the East, and was, in addition, England’s representative to Cochin China and Japan; was also nominated H.M.’s Envoy to the King of Siam, for the negotiation of a commercial treaty more suited than the then existing one to the enterprising spirit of the age. The importance and urgency of his duties in China delayed Sir John’s making his first and only visit to Siam and presenting himself at the court of Bangkok until April 1855, and then compelled him to limit his stay to about twenty days. Thus hurried, as it might have been foreseen he must be, and being also very imperfectly informed and instructed by our Foreign office, the treaty he negotiated was, in several respects, by no means such as he, doubtless, would have proposed and obtained, had he been more fully and correctly prepared by the Foreign Secretary; and had not the more important and pressing duties of his many other high offices in the East, prevented his giving that time and consideration to the Siamese Court and negotiation, which the object of his mission made desirable.

Up to the year 1850, when the Foreign office first sent an envoy—Rajah Sir James Brooke—to Siam, all political and commercial negotiations with that country, had been conducted by the Governors-General of India; who, as occasions arose, deputed their envoys to the Siamese Court, fully instructed respecting the interests, political and commercial, of both England and India, with that country and its neighbour states. H.M.’s Government having, however, when it took Siam under its diplomatic charge, omitted to obtain from the Government of India, and to furnish to Sir James Brooke and Sir John Bowring, copies of the instructions to, and journals, reports, and correspondence of, those previous envoys to Bangkok from Calcutta; the

two Foreign office envoys were, of course, without knowledge of our past diplomatic negotiations and relations with Siam, and ignorant of what the interests of her two conterminous neighbours, British Burma and Ava, required ; knowledge which could alone enable them to negotiate with proper advantage for England and India, in reference to the proximity to Siam of British Burma along its whole western, and of Ava along its entire northern frontier.

Those Foreign office missions to Siam, and their results, having been reviewed in our letter of the 29th of April, 1865, to the Secretary of State for India in Council, which we may hereafter print, we will here only observe of them, that their entire failure in the very important points wherein they failed, must not be ascribed to the envoys, but to the department of state which selected and instructed them. Because, had the Foreign Secretary, in reference to the papers we had sent in to him on the subject, even sought it from us, it was in our power to have furnished, as those papers should have shown him, the fullest and latest information of the political and official relations between India and Siam, in reference to territorial and commercial questions alike, and as affecting the territory of the King of Ava, as well as that of British Burma : for we possessed copies, *in extenso*, not only of the instructions, journals, reports, and correspondence of the different envoys sent from the Government of India to that of Siam ; but of the instructions, journals, reports, and correspondence, also, of the officers sent, at different times, by our authorities in the Tenasserim provinces to the Siamese Government, and the different Shan States of Siam.

Before 1858, the Indian Government had annexed the two remaining seacoast provinces of Burma—those of Pegu and Martaban ; which gave to England the entire coast of the east side of the Bay of Bengal, from Calcutta to the river Pakchan, on the south of the province of Mergui. And events in China then appearing to us likely to open an opportunity for our Government to negotiate favorably with that of China, for the opening of trade, overland, from that our new province of Pegu, with the West of China, we resumed addressing the Foreign Secretary of State, on the subject ; and during the months of March, April, and May, 1858, sent him six, if not more, explanatory papers. The one dated the 10th of April, 1858, written by the senior of us, thus commenced :—

“I had the honour to receive in the country your Lordship’s acknowledgment, dated the 9th of March, of the paper which I addressed to you on the 1st of that month, relating to the further extension of our commerce with China ; and for effecting which I offered to your consideration suggestions for

the negotiations likely to be entered into with the Chinese Emperor, for the restitution to him of Canton. I trust that my later letter to your Lordship, of the 21st ultimo, with its enclosure—the return of which I shall feel obliged for—was also received by you.

“To draw your Lordship’s attention more effectually to the important object of the first of those letters, I alluded in it to the *overland* trade which has been long carried on, during the short dry season of each year, between Northern Burma and the most western province of China—Yunan; and I stated that I and my son had, for many years, given our attention to the consideration of the best route by which English merchandize, in large quantities, might be expeditiously and cheaply introduced, overland, into Western China,—be brought to meet in the central and northern provinces of that Empire the advances of both Russia and America towards that portion of Asia;—and be made successfully to compete, hereafter, with their improved and still improving geographical facilities for the Chinese trade. And I will now endeavour to explain to your Lordship, as briefly as the important subject permits, *why* and *how* we consider this superior facility for British and British-Indian commerce with the most remote interior of China proper may be secured, if, in pending negotiations with the Chinese Government, your Lordship will open the commercial gate we respectfully point out to you.

“The mode by which we propose to create and *perpetuate* that beneficial increase of our national foreign trade, is both simple and easy, should it be honored with the approval and assistance of H.M.’s Government; viz.—as I have stated in a previous paper to your Lordship, by the construction of a *cheap single line of railway for commerce*, from H.M.’s new port of Rangoon on the east of the Bay of Bengal, to the northeast of the *now British-Indian* provinces of Pegu and Martaban; and thence, across the two southeastern Shan States of Ava or Burma, on to the most eligible point of the Meikong or upper Kamboja river, near to where it issues from the Chinese Yunan province, navigable, even in the dry season, for deeply laden junks. The King of Ava’s consent to this railway, and the cordial co-operation of his Government in its construction and maintenance, we will hereafter show your Lordship to be readily attainable, if sought in the manner we shall take the liberty to suggest that it should be.”

That letter and a succeeding one to him, dated the 13th of April, 1858, was thus acknowledged by the then Foreign Secretary:—

“FOREIGN OFFICE, 19th April, 1858.

“SIR,

“I am directed by the Earl of Malmsbury to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 13th instant, on the subject of overland trade with China; and in conveying to you his Lordship’s thanks for your com-



munication, I am to state to you that copies of that letter, and of your former letter of the 10th instant, will be transmitted to the Earl of Elgin, in China.

"I am, &c.

"CAPTAIN SPRYE.

"E. HAMMOND."

On the 8th of the following May, 1858, we transmitted to the Foreign Secretary another letter, setting forth further reasons why measures should be, without delay, taken by H.M.'s Government, to open the proposed overland trade with China from Rangoon; which letter his Lordship acknowledged as follows:—

"FOREIGN OFFICE, 12th May, 1858.

"SIR,

"I am directed by the Earl of Malmesbury to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 8th instant, setting forth the grounds on which you recommend that measures should be taken for constructing a cheap railway from Rangoon, across Pegu and Burma or Ava, to Western China.

"The Earl of Malmesbury will communicate your letter to the Lords of the Committee of Privy Council for Trade: and in the meanwhile he desires me to return you his thanks for having placed in his hands so interesting a document, the compilation of which does so much credit to your ability and industry.

"I am, &c.

"CAPTAIN SPRYE.

"E. HAMMOND."

Nothing further, however, resulted to the cause from that correspondence. And strange to say, in reference to the statement in the Foreign Secretary's above letter of the 19th of April, 1858,—“that copies of our letters to him of the 10th and 13th of that month, would be transmitted to the Earl of Elgin, in China;” the Parliamentary Paper of last session, “China, No. 2, 1865,” states, in its page 3,—“that there was *no* correspondence between the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs and the late Earl of Elgin when on either of his missions to China, on the subject of opening up a direct commerce with the West of China from the Port of Rangoon.” And certain it is, that no allusion was made in the long Treaty of Tientsin to either the opening of trade with the West of China, or the extension of the Telegraph from Pegu to Hong-Kong, &c. We continued, therefore, still to recommend those matters to the consideration of the Foreign Secretary, by letters dated the 10th of August, 2nd of September, 4th of October, 26th, 29th, and 30th of November, and 3rd of December, 1858; the last of which was thus replied to:—

"FOREIGN OFFICE, 17th December, 1858.

"SIR,

"I am directed by the Earl of Malmsbury to acknowledge the receipt of your further letter of the 3rd instant, forwarding a series of maps of British Burma, &c., and again suggesting that negotiations should be entered into with the Chinese Government for establishing commercial communication with the west of China through the Burman Shan frontier city of Kiang-Hung, or any other.

"I am to convey to you his Lordship's thanks for your communications : but am at the same time to observe, that the time has not yet arrived for entering upon the consideration of the questions to which you draw attention.

"I am, &c.

"CAPTAIN SPRYE.

"E. HAMMOND."

Nevertheless, and to furnish the Foreign Secretary, as further time passed, with all the additional information we acquired on the subjects; as well as to prepare him for right action therein, whenever the time *should*, in his opinion, arrive; we sent him subsequent communications, dated respectively the 7th of December, 1858; the 4th, 13th, 14th, and 29th of October, 10th of November, and 2nd, and 17th of December, 1859; and the 4th, 9th, 13th, and 23rd of January, 1860.

The renewal of hostilities at Taku having enforced a fresh campaign in China from that sea basis, and it being thus *certain* that, when we gained indisputable military command over the "celestial" government, *another treaty with it would have to be negotiated*; and the Earl of Elgin being, also, appointed, a second time, H.M.'s Special Ambassador to China; we on the 5th, and 13th of March, 1860, officially proposed to the then Foreign Secretary, Lord John Russell, that we should proceed to China; there to render to the Earl of Elgin, when the time for such fresh negotiations arrived, the information and assistance in our power touching the opening of trade from British Pegu with the West of China, and the extension of the Indian Telegraph from Pegu to Hong-Kong and the treaty ports. In making that offer, we only asked that our actual expenses should be defrayed; and, in consideration thereof, we further proposed, that when the new treaty should be made with China, we should travel from Canton up the vallies of the West and Pearl rivers to Kiang-Hung; one of us proceeding from that Shan city, across the Shan State of Kiang-Tung, to Pegu and Rangoon; while the other descended from Kiang-Hung by the Meikong or Kamboja river, and its vallies, to Saigon, at the mouth of that stream; which had been taken by the French, in the February of the preceding year, with the view, it was stated, of making *their* commercial way north from it to the Shans and the Western

Chinese : both of us undertaking, also, to collect for H.M.'s Government, all the geographical, commercial, and political information we could. Unfortunately for the interests of the manufacturers and merchants of England in the objects we so advocated, H.M.'s Foreign office showed no real care for them. Our letter to the head of it, of the 5th of March, 1860, received mere acknowledgment only ; while the later one, of the 13th of the same month, was, three weeks afterwards, thus curtly replied to:—

“ FOREIGN OFFICE, 3rd April, 1860.

“ SIR,

“ I am directed by Lord John Russell to acknowledge the receipt of your letter and its enclosure of the 13th ultimo ; and I am to state to you, in reply to your renewed offer to proceed to China with your son, that his Lordship regrets he has no occasion for your services.

“ I am, &c.

“ CAPTAIN SPEYE.

“ E. HAMMOND.”

Thus was officially sacrificed the splendid opportunity which the subsequent Convention of Peking afforded of making every necessary Treaty stipulation with the Chinese Government for the long proposed overland trade with the West of that Empire, and for the extension, by land, of the Indian Telegraph to its Open Ports. For, considering that the Convention was negotiated while a British Army was in possession of Peking, from which the Emperor and his Court had taken flight ; and by an imperial prince, who, to obtain the quick retirement of that army, was ready to yield anything demanded of him ; and considering, also, the extreme severity towards the Emperor of China, of each of the nine articles of the Convention that was come to ; can any one believe that Prince Kung and his advisers would have an instant hesitated to admit two other articles, sanctioning overland trade with the *far distant* inland west extremity of the Empire, and the setting up of telegraph wires therefrom to the Open Ports ? Opening to our commerce and merchants, as the Convention did, the inland City of Tientsin, close to Peking, and—as it may be termed—the port of that capital, thereby securing to us the navigation of the Peiho, is not it idle to suppose that, had the British Special Ambassador been instructed by the Foreign Secretary to provide for the proposed opening of trade on the west, etc., or been but authorized to avail himself of such opportunity as *might offer* to him to secure those nationally important objects, they would not have been provided for by two additional articles ; neither of which could have proved at all obnoxious to the Chinese Government, while to our country they would have been as valuable as any of the nine others the Convention contains ?

The indifference so shown by H.M.'s then Foreign Secretary to the interests of our manufacturers, merchants, and shipowners, might not have been so censurable had the opening of trade with the west of China, etc., been recommended to him and his department, by ourselves only. Previous, however, to the Convention of Peking, Memorials, praying for the commercial opening of Western China, overland from Rangoon, had been sent up to the then Prime Minister, Viscount Palmerston—by whom they were passed on to the Foreign Secretary—from the Chambers of Commerce of Manchester, Huddersfield, Leeds, Bradford, Halifax, and Liverpool. The Parliamentary Paper, "China, 1864. 0.77," contains those Memorials from Manchester and Huddersfield, but no replies to them; and also the three Memorials from Leeds, Bradford and Halifax, and Liverpool; to the President of each of which Chambers the Foreign Secretary sent, through his Under Secretary, the off-hand reply,—“that the project advocated in your Memorial, does not appear to Lord John Russell to be feasible; at least for the present.”

To that Foreign office, “non-apparent feasibility” of what, under the circumstance of our then earnest war with the Chinese Government, *was*, so very palpably to all others, of “present” most easy attainment, the Council of the Leeds Chamber naturally declined to defer; and, therefore, sent up the following second Memorial, direct to the Foreign Secretary:—

“To the RT. HON. LORD JOHN RUSSELL, M.P.

*H.M.'s Secretary of State, Foreign Department,*

“THE MEMORIAL OF THE COUNCIL OF THE LEEDS CHAMBER

OF COMMERCE, THROUGH THEIR PRESIDENT.

“Showeth,—

“That your Memorialists beg respectfully to acknowledge the receipt of your Lordship's reply to their Memorial to Viscount Palmerston on the subject of opening up the western provinces of China to British trade, overland from the port of Rangoon; which project they therefrom learn is not deemed by your Lordship, “to be feasible; at least for the present.”

“At the same time they desire to express to your Lordship the great importance they attach to any arrangement, or treaty, that may be hereafter entered into or made by H.M.'s Government with China, whereby the populous commercial city of Esmok [Sz-mau], on the extreme south western frontier of China proper, in the province of Yunan, adjoining the Shan States of Ava or Burma, may be included in the number of towns and ports of the Chinese Empire open to British trade.

“Your Memorialists are credibly informed, that the province of Yunan is fertile and thickly peopled, being covered with populous cities and towns, connected together, in all directions, by high roads, navigable rivers, lakes,

and canals ; besides being bounded on the north by another province, the largest, most populous, and richest in the Chinese Empire—the province of Sze-chuen ; and that the Yunan province yields in itself large quantities of various rich commercial products, well suited to the English market ; including the finest description of teas produced in China.

“ They, therefore, desire further respectfully to impress upon your Lordship and the Government, the prospect of great and manifold advantages which must eventually result to British industry and enterprise, were a fair opportunity afforded for trade with China in the direction pointed out ; and your Memorialists pray,—

“ That in any negotiations that may take place on the termination of the present war with China, the said frontier city of Esmok, in Western China, may be thenceforth constituted open and free to British trade.

“ And your Memorialists will ever pray,—

“ On behalf of the Council of the Leeds Chamber of Commerce,

“ Darnton Lupton,

“ PRESIDENT.”

To that business-like and straightforward appeal from the representatives of one of the most extensive, intelligent, and important of England's manufacturing and commercial communities, the Foreign Secretary, in some absent moment, directed the following anti-commercial and, certainly, not very diplomatic answer to be sent :—

“ FOREIGN OFFICE, 22nd September, 1860.

“ SIR,

“ I am directed by Lord John Russell to acknowledge the receipt of the Memorial to him of the Leeds Chamber of Commerce, praying,— ‘ that in any negotiations that may take place on the termination of the present war with China, the city of Esmok, in Western China, may be thenceforth constituted open and free to British trade ; ’ and I am to request that you will acquaint the Chamber that Lord John Russell is fully alive to the importance of facilitating, as far as possible, the extension of British trade with the Chinese Empire.

“ It appears, however, to his Lordship, that *much inconvenience might arise* from introducing into any fresh negotiation with China, at the present time, *so novel a question*, as far as this country is concerned, as that of access to a city of the western frontier of the Chinese Empire.

“ And that, even in *the improbable case* of the Chinese Government acquiescing in a proposal to that effect, the opening of Esmok to British trade, *would be more likely to have a prejudicial effect than otherwise* on the relations between the two countries.

"For it would be impossible to afford *adequate protection* to British trade at so inland a city, or there to exercise *due control over* British subjects; while redress for any wrong done in that remote quarter could, in all probability, only be obtained by applying pressure at places more accessible; and so placing in jeopardy the more important interest of British trade on the seaboard of China.

"I am, &c.

"E. HAMMOND."

WHEN the Foreign Secretary directed such anti-foreign trade sentiments to be expressed for him, officially, to so commercially well-informed a body as the Council of the Leeds Chamber of Commerce, he must have wholly lost sight of the peaceable and successful manner in which British trade was being carried on by our countrymen in similarly situated parts of many other distant countries; and have as completely forgotten the instructions he must have issued to the Earl of Elgin, for his guidance in "any fresh negotiation with China:" since that Ambassador, "special" though he was, most assuredly could not have taken upon himself to originate and submit to the Chinese Government the nine several very "novel demands, as far as this country is concerned," which were conceded to it by the Convention of Peking: demands, with any one of which, from No. 1 to No. 9, it was but shortly before, so much *more than* "improbable," that the Chinese Emperor and his advisers would ever be brought to acquiesce. The utter inapplicability, and as thorough unsoundness, of those other passages of Lord John Russell's letter which state,—“that much inconvenience might arise, etc.,”—“that the opening of Esmok to British trade would be likely to *prejudice* the relations between the two countries,”—and “that it would be impossible adequately to protect British trade at so inland a city, or there to exercise *due control over* British subjects,”—must be at once so very apparent to every non-official mind, and those passages were so fully and effectively criticised and condemned by the public press of the period,\* that we consider they may be well left unnoticed by us.

Of what has yet become public of the Foreign office hostility to the commercial opening of the West of China, etc., the most strange part is, that, after the Foreign Secretary so communicated his admonitory anti-commercial sentiments to the Leeds and other Chambers of Commerce, —after he had officially acted in England, and his subordinate in China, to render that extension of our foreign trade if not impossible, very difficult,

\* The *Times* City Article, 6th October, 1860; Captain Sherard Osborne's letter to the *Times*, of the 8th of October, 1860; the *Times* leading Article thereon, of the 11th of the same month; the *Globe* Leading Article, of the 9th January, 1861, &c.

to other ministers,—and after the negotiation of the Convention of Peking, under his instructions, without reference to it, *had rendered it* “improbable” that the Chinese Government would readily acquiesce in it,—he, on the 25th of November, 1863—when, in the face of his reasons for inaction in it, the Chambers of Commerce generally continued to press it on H.M.’s Government—officially informed the East India and China Association of Liverpool,—“*that the matter more immediately comes within the Department of H.M.’s Secretary of State for India, to whom the Association should address itself.*” (See No. 25, pa. 61.) This communication would, surely, have been more fitly made to the manufacturing and commercial interests of the country upwards of three years previously, instead of such as we have shown to have been addressed to the Leeds Chamber, on the 27th of August, and 22nd of September, 1860.

As respects the hostility displayed by Foreign office subordinates in China, to the opening of trade with the west of the Empire, and extension of the telegraph to Hong Kong by that or any other route, such hostility was by no means limited to the able special ambassador’s, Lord Elgin’s, disregard of those two great objects in his negotiation of the Convention of Peking; but was afterwards continually displayed, in a marked manner, by H.M.’s late Minister at that court, Sir Frederick Bruce. To Captain Blackiston’s praiseworthy effort, to ascend the Yeangtse river to its most extreme navigable point, and to proceed thence by land *from the West of China to India*, that Minister gave no encouragement or assistance. So, when Captain Blackiston, after ascending 1600 miles of the river, had to return by it to Shanghai without accomplishing his object, and a land party was formed in India, by the Viceroy, Lord Canning, under Colonel Sarell—who had been one of Captain Blackiston’s companions—to proceed *from India to the West of China*, Sir Frederick Bruce declined Lord Canning’s request, that he would procure passports for the party, from the Chinese government! Again—as we are informed by the published letter of Mr. H. W. Lay, C.B., late Inspector-General of Chinese Customs, to Earl Russell, dated the 26th of November, 1864, page 66—when Mr. Reuter’s agent was exerting himself at Peking to connect that capital with his general telegraphic system,—“Sir Frederick Bruce not only denied him any assistance, but actually prompted Mr. Lay to suggest to the Chinese Foreign Board *to answer negatively* the official letter which he, Sir F. B., was obliged to send in to it on the subject!” And worse still, of the same head of our Foreign office in China. When Sir Macdonald Stephenson—to whose foresight, ability,

and resolute perseverance, India owes her railways—went at Shanghai on his way to Peking, to submit propositions to Prince Kung for the introduction of railways and telegraphs into China, and Mr. Lay was leaving Peking for Shanghai, Sir Frederick Bruce's leave-taking speech to him was,—“There is one thing I wish you would do for me when you get down to Shanghai. If you meet Sir Macdonald Stephenson, as you probably will, ‘choke him off;’ tell him that it will be of no use his coming up to Peking. We don't want any of their ——— telegraphs and railroads here!!!”—(Same letter, page 48.) Now, can it be supposed that, in the instances adduced, Sir Frederick Bruce would have presumed to act and speak as he did at Peking, had not he been well assured that his so acting and speaking fully accorded, if not with his formal instructions, yet most certainly with the opinions and views of the Home Chief under whom he was serving? We certainly think not. However, the Foreign Secretary having, in November, 1863, referred the manufacturers and merchants of England, in the distinct manner before stated, to H.M.'s Secretary of State for India, as the right Minister “to establish a line of commercial communication between India and China by way of Pegu and Burma;” it next follows for us to show, briefly, what attention has thus far been paid by Sir Charles Wood, also, to the numerous urgent Memorials sent up to H.M.'s Government on the subject.

Before entering, however, upon this branch of our observations, it will be right to notice the consideration given by the late First Lord of the Treasury himself, to those commercial appeals to H.M.'s Government. And we cannot do this better, perhaps, than by quoting what we observed thereon in our letter of the 29th April, 1865, to the Secretary of State for India in Council, which reviewed what had been done in the matter of our propositions, and their *consequent* then neglected position, viz.:—

“111. The passage we have quoted to you, Sir, from that letter of the Chief Commissioner of British Burma to the Indian Government, brings to our recollection, also, that *one* of the seventeen Memorials sent by Chambers of Commerce to the Prime Minister, urging the commercial opening of Western China from Rangoon, *was* replied to by Lord Palmerston; though such reply, being omitted from the Parliamentary Return of those Memorials, *was* unnoticed by us in paragraphs 87 to 92 preceding. The Memorial so honored, *was* from the Salt Proprietors of Cheshire and Worcestershire, dated the 23rd of November, 1860, and *was* transmitted to the first Lord of the Treasury through Mr. Tollemache, M.P., for South Lancashire; the answer to whom, forwarded by him to the Salt Chamber, *was*:—



"DOWNING STREET, 30 November, 1860.

"SIR,

"I am directed by Lord Palmerston to acknowledge the receipt of the Memorial from the Salt Proprietors of Cheshire and Worcestershire, which accompanied your letter of the 27th instant; and to inform you that he has forwarded it to the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs,\* for his consideration. Lord Palmerston, however, wishes me to add, that H.M.'s Government have stated to several bodies who have made representations in favor of overland commerce between India and China, that insurmountable objections exist to such a scheme.

"I remain, &c.

"C. S. BARRINGTON."

"112. On this letter it is first for us to remark to you, Sir, that no such statement as it concludes with had been made by her H.M.'s Government to bodies addressing it on the subject. Excepting the Foreign office answer to the second Memorial of the Leeds Chamber—which answer as we have shown you, did not contain a single tenable reason against the prayer of the Memorialists—only *four* of the Memorials had, up to the date of the Prime Minister's letter to Mr. Tollemache, been acknowledged by Ministers. The *first* was acknowledged by you, Sir, on the 3rd of August, 1860, to the Manchester Chamber,—‘expressing your thanks for a copy of the Memorial sent ‘up by it to Lord Palmerston respecting our commercial relations with ‘China.’ While the *second*, *third*, and *fourth*, were simultaneously acknowledged by letters from the Foreign Secretary to the Chambers of Bradford, Leeds, and Liverpool, dated the 27th of August, 1860; and stating only, as shown in paragraph 97 preceding,—‘that the project advocated, does not ‘appear to Lord John Russell to be feasible; at least for the present.’ (See No. 5, page 49.) Nor are we aware that any subsequent replies to the numerous later Memorials expressed anything like the decided objection to the propositions which was pronounced in the Premier's above quoted letter; and certain it is, that none are to be found in the Parliamentary return.

"113. The very obstructive expression so volunteered by Lord Palmerston, in behalf of H.M.'s Government, is not, be it observed, insurmountable *difficulties* but ‘insurmountable objections.’ Whereon it naturally occurs to ask, if *insurmountable* objections *were known* to the Cabinet really to exist, what benefit could result from the Premier's forwarding the Salt Chamber's Memorial to his Foreign Secretary, for ‘consideration?’ We can see none whatever. And may not it be further as properly asked, Sir, why did not his Lordship favor the Memorialists with some information as to *the nature* of the insurmountable ‘objections,’ and *the whereabouts* of their existence?

\* The reader will observe, that the Prime Minister did not consider, with the Foreign Secretary, “that the matter to which the Memorial related, came more immediately within the Department of H.M.'s Secretary of State for India.”

Rightly, the question involved no grave state policy, a disclosure of which could prejudice the public service. At least our knowledge of the matter generally, in each of its directions and bearings, satisfies us of this; and also that, if any justifiable objections *are* in the way, they must be any thing 'but insurmountable,' whether existing in the Foreign office of England, France, Ava, or China. And that they ought to be now at once overcome by H.M.'s Government, there can be no doubt, lest *further* neglect and loss of time *make them* really insurmountable."

Limiting ourselves, as regards the late Premier, to that extract from our official notice of the attention paid by him to the seventeen of the twenty-six Memorials to H.M.'s Ministers, which were sent up *to him direct*, from the Chambers of Commerce of Bradford, Bristol, Cheshire and Worcestershire Salt Proprietors (2), Cotton Supply Association, Glasgow, Halifax, Huddersfield (2), Leeds (2), Liverpool (2), Liverpool Ship-owners, London East India and China Association, and Manchester (2); we have next to show how the prayers of the whole twenty-six Memorials were treated by the Secretary of State for India, to whose office they all sooner or later found their way, in original or duplicate.

Seeing that the desired new trade and extension of Telegraph must prove, and this permanently, of great benefit to British Burma, to India, and to the Indian Government, we did expect that, after fair public ventilation of these projects, the Indian Minister *would* have taken the prayers of the Memorialists into consideration, and have instituted proper inquiries into the merits and practicability of what we proposed. As yet, however, and notwithstanding the very numerous papers we have also addressed to him inviting his attention to the subject, we are ignorant—as also are, we believe, all the Memorialists—of his having taken any one right and effective step in the matter. All the India Office action therein that we have been made acquainted with, appears to have been directed, as was that of the Foreign Office, to thwart and prevent any right or efficient step to accomplish what the Chambers of Commerce prayed for, and the national interests required.

Consequent on our not having received any communication from the Secretary of State for India in Council of the result of his reference of our letters of the 29th of April, and 14th of May, 1865, to H.M.'s Government, we, on the 15th instant—January, 1866—sent in to that Minister a "still further letter," with two additional explanatory maps. The 6th paragraph of that letter, pages 5 to 11, quoted passages from fourteen of the Memorials, all praying,—“that a thorough survey might “be made of the route from Rangoon, *via* Shwaygyen and Kiang-Tung, “to Kiang-Hung on the Upper Kamboja; under the direction and

“supervision of some eminent Railway Engineer, whose work and report should be calculated to give satisfaction to the Home and Indian Governments, and to the manufacturing and trading classes of the kingdom.” Our letter then continued to observe as follows:—

“7. If you will call to mind, Sir, that at least thirteen other memorials from the same or similar commercial chambers and associations of the United Kingdoms, have been sent up to Her Majesty’s Ministers, all strongly praying for the opening of this *direct* trade with the Shan States and Inland West of China, *by the most direct practicable route from the Port of Rangoon*, we venture to think that you must consider the subject to have merited from the Government, generally, a more serious and favourable consideration than—owing to the anti-commercial influence of the Foreign office, and of its late Minister at Peking, Sir Frederick Bruce—it has yet received; and to have consequently called for, in the interests of India alone, a degree of action on the part of the Department of State over which you preside, very different to what is disclosed in the evasive and conflicting answers given to those many memorials,—in the other official papers bearing on the subject which were selected for presentation to Parliament during the two last Sessions,—and in the valueless ordinary journals, reports, and maps, of those non-professionals referred to in paragraphs 3 to 5 preceding.

“8. Defective and partial, however, as are the papers that have been so presented to Parliament on the subject,\* the following facts can be drawn from them, in the following order of dates, shewing that the prayers of the memorials of the manufacturers, merchants, and shiphowners of the United Kingdoms *have been* designedly overlooked, and intentionally disregarded in what has been thus far done by the Indian Government and the Chief Commissioner of British Burma, towards opening up commerce with the Shans and Western Chinese, viz.—

“i. In the year 1860 seven memorials were sent up to H. M.’s Ministers, praying their attention to the opening of that trade, viz.—from the Chambers of Commerce of Manchester, Huddersfield, Leeds 2, Bradford and Halifax, Liverpool, and the Salt Proprietors of Cheshire and Worcestershire.

“ii. Each of those memorials of the year 1860, more or less distinctly suggested and urged that the trade should be opened by the only practicable way for *continuous* commerce; viz.—by the *land* route, direct from the port of Rangoon, across Eastern Pegu, to the Upper Kamboja or Meikong river, in the direction of the Chinese south-west frontier city of Esmok or Sz-mau.

“iii. In *June*, 1861, the Secretary of State for India, ‘directed the notice ‘of the Government of India to the subject;’ but his dispatch doing so is

\* i. Burma Commercial Treaty, 300, 1864. ii. China, 0.77, 1864. iii. China, No. 2, 1865. iv. Rangoon and Western China, 373, 1865.

omitted from the papers presented to Parliament hereon: and, obviously enough, not from oversight.

"iv. On the 12th of May, 1862, the Viceroy and Governor-General of India sent to the Chief-Commissioner of British Burma instructions for his negotiating a Commercial Treaty with the King of Ava; in which instructions, English Commerce with the Shans and Western Chinese, by the direct land route from Rangoon, *was not even alluded to*; while the very long and commercially impracticable, dry season caravan route, *via* the Irawadee, Mandalay, and Bhamo, to the north-west of Yunan, is exclusively urged upon his attention; and this for the avowed two purely *Indian* objects of obtaining by it Chinese coolies for the uncleared tea plantations of Assam, and the transit of Indian opium to that mountainous north point of western China.

"v. On the 25th of September, 1862, the Secretary of State for India informed the Liverpool East India and China Association, in reply to a memorial from it, that he had recently received a dispatch from the Government of India—which also is, and clearly enough not through oversight, omitted from the papers presented to Parliament—stating, in reference to his instructions of June, 1861,—‘That the Chief Commissioner of British Burma ‘had been desired to keep his attention directed to the prospects of trade with ‘Western China, and to avail himself of every favourable opportunity to obtain a knowledge of *the several* routes which have been suggested for tapping ‘the commerce of China in that quarter.’

"vi. On the 10th of November, 1862, the Chief-Commissioner concluded a treaty with the King of Ava, in which any mention of trade with the Shan States and West of China, by the direct land route from Rangoon, is as studiously avoided as it had been in the previous Convention of Peking; though the Chief-Commissioner unnecessarily yielded up to the King of Ava, without any adequate equivalent, inland duties to the then extent of fifty thousand or more pounds a-year,\* and the treaty repeatedly names the impossible Irawadee river, Mandalay, and Bhamo route, as the one for the trade sanctioned by it at that high annual cost to the revenue of British Burma!

"vii. On the 20th of November, 1862, the Chief-Commissioner wrote a dispatch to the Viceroy and Governor-General—only *extracts* from which are submitted to Parliament—narrating the detail progress of his negotiation of that treaty. The ‘extracts’ given from this dispatch neither name or allude to trade between England and the Shan States and West of China, by the direct land route from Rangoon; though they shew that the treaty was framed from a draft, *prepared by the Chief-Commissioner himself*, consisting of eight articles, ‘which,’ the Chief-Commissioner wrote, ‘contained all the points he required the Ava government to concede.’

\* That then £50,000 a-year, has now attained, we have every reason to believe, full ten lacs, or £100,000, a-year; given up for *nothing*!

"viii. On the 21th of November, 1862, the Chief-Commissioner wrote a second dispatch to the Viceroy and Governor-General, dwelling further on his negociation of the treaty, and explaining its several articles; in which dispatch the direct land route for British trade from Rangoon to China, is again not mentioned; while the valueless Irawadee, Mandalay, and Bhamo route, for certain Indian objects, is repeatedly adverted to as having had his exclusive consideration: those Indian objects being stated to be, to obtain Chinese Coolies for the tea-planters in Assam, 'if these would send agents to 'Bhamo to secure them;' and to open *that* route for the transit of Indian opium to that part of China, 'if it should prove saleable there at a profit.'

"ix. On the 13th of December, 1862, the Viceroy and Governor-General acknowledged those dispatches from the Chief-Commissioner, approving of the manner in which he had conducted the negotiations and of the resulting treaty, as being, 'generally, in conformity with the instructions issued to 'him, under date of the 12th of May, 1862;' without any allusion to the wholly neglected overland route *for British trade* between Rangoon and the Shan States and Western provinces of China, so suggested and prayed for in England; and of which route the Chief-Commissioner had himself repeatedly written to us his strong approval, and a survey of which *he* had three times recommended to succeeding Viceroys and Governors-General.

"x. Subsequent to the date of the last of the seven earliest Memorials referred to at page 12, i. ii., and up to the 29th of October, 1862, three further Memorials on the subject were forwarded to H.M.'s Ministers, from the Liverpool Chamber of Commerce, the Liverpool East India and China Association, and the Liverpool Shipowners' Association; the last of which, after urging the desirability of opening up *direct* trade with the Western portion of China from Rangoon, stated,—'that upon an examination of the maps of the 'British provinces of Pegu and Martaban, founded on surveys made by the 'Government of India, it appears to your memorialists that the best route for 'the trade will be from Rangoon *viâ* the north-east limit of those two provinces, on the river Salween, &c.'

"xi. On the 9th of May, 1863, the Secretary of State for India wrote to the Viceroy and Governor-General of India, expressing full approval of the treaty by H.M.'s Government,—'as promising to be equally advantageous to 'both countries [*i.e.* India and Ava] in its effect, and of the manner in 'which it had been negotiated, &c.;' also without making any reference to that direct land route which, as the best, nay only way, by which the desired *British* commerce could be carried on, had been so repeatedly pressed upon the notice of H.M.'s Ministers, by those several manufacturing and commercial bodies of England who would principally have to embark in it."

This account of the attention paid by the late FIRST LORD of the TREASURY, and by the SECRETARY of STATE for FOREIGN AFFAIRS, to the

Memorials addressed to them and to other Ministers on this commercial question, being drawn from Parliamentary and Official Papers, as more satisfactory to readers than a non-official statement from ourselves; we will continue the same course in showing what has been the conduct of the SECRETARY of STATE for INDIA in reference to the same appeals to him, as being the Minister presiding over that portion of Her Majesty's Empire referred to in the Memorials, and which must derive the most immediate, the most considerable, and the most enduring benefits, from the carrying out of the public work they recommended and prayed the execution of. We now, therefore, submit a few further paragraphs from our official letter of the 29th of April, 1865, to the Indian Secretary of State in Council; first observing regarding that communication, that not having been favoured through two months with any acknowledgment of it, and having on the 15th of June, 1865, written to inquire if it had been received at the India office, we were informed by an official reply, dated the 30th of that month,—“that it had been duly “received, and was under the consideration of Her Majesty's Government.” Since when, however, a period now of seven months, and of nine since the letter was sent in, nothing further has been communicated to us regarding it! The paragraphs we will here quote from it, as relating to the Memorials now being treated of, ran as follows:—

“85. The second Memorial sent up, Sir, by the Manchester Chamber of Commerce, to the Prime Minister, dated 2nd July, 1863, is omitted from the Parliamentary Return of the Memorials; as is any reply that may have been sent to it. Of the other twenty-five Memorials, seventeen appear to have been similarly addressed to the Prime Minister, three to the President of the Board of Trade, three to the Secretary of State for India in Council, and two to the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. The whole of them are of an earnest character, soliciting the early and serious consideration of H.M.'s Government to the subject of commercially opening the West of China, overland from Rangoon; submitting various reasons for its being done, all tending to the benefit of our manufactures and foreign commerce, and to the general welfare of the United Kingdoms and of India; and several of them, especially those of the later dates, praying that a survey of the country between Rangoon and the north-east frontier of our Pegu and Martaban provinces might be made by experienced professional railway engineers; and that, under friendly arrangements with the King of Ava, such survey might be continued, across His Majesty's south-eastern tributary Shan States of Moni and Kiang-Tung, to Kiang-Hung, on the right bank of the Meikong or Upper Kamboja River.

“86. The acknowledgments and replies sent to those twenty-five appeals

to H.M.'s Ministers from the principal commercial associations of the kingdom, on behalf of this most desirable and perfectly practicable extension of the nation's foreign trade, with a large, populous, and rich portion of interior Asia hitherto beyond the reach of our merchants, are shown by the Parliamentary return already referred to, to have been from the following Ministers, in the following numbers :—

From the Prime Minister . . . . .	1.
From the President of the Board of Trade . . . . .	3.
From the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs . . . . .	6.
From the Secretary of State for India . . . . .	16.

Of these it is also appropriate that we should notice those from the Board of Trade and the India office.

"87. The three answers from the President of the Board of Trade were to the three Memorials addressed to him direct, viz.—From the Liverpool Chamber of Commerce, dated 5th September, 1862; the Liverpool Shipowners' Association, dated 29th October, 1862; and the Liverpool East India and China Association, dated 28th August, 1863. To the first and second, the replies, dated 10th September and 6th November, 1862, were,—‘That my Lords of the Committee of Privy Council for Trade have referred your letter for the consideration of the Secretary of State for India.’ While the third was acknowledged on the 4th September, 1863, by the President informing the Memorialists,—‘That the Lords of the Committee of Privy Council for Trade had transmitted copies of their letter to the Foreign Office and Secretary of State for India.’ And as there are in the Parliamentary Return, no subsequent communications from the President of the Board of Trade to any of the bodies memorializing H. M.'s Ministers on this important commercial question, it seems clear that, however satisfied he may himself be with his ministerial position, this Minister and his department are not invested with the official rank and authority on commercial subjects generally, which the welfare of our vast mineral, manufacturing, and shipping interests, and the continued prosperity of the country, require should be held by the Minister and department presiding over the nation's foreign trade.

"88. True, Sir, that under the dates 13th September and 22nd November, 1863, your Under-Secretaries also replied to the first two of those Memorials to the Board of Trade President, by informing the Memorialists :—

‘That the Secretary of State for India directed the notice of the Government of India to the subject in June, 1861, and that he has recently received a dispatch from that authority, stating that the Chief Commissioner of British Burma has been desired to keep his attention directed to the prospects of trade with Western China, and to avail himself of every favourable opportunity to obtain a knowledge of the several routes which have been suggested for tapping the commerce of China in that quarter.’

"89. To the third of the Memorials to the President of the Board of Trade, the one from the Liverpool East India and China Association, dated 28th August, 1863, copies of which that Minister forwarded to both the Foreign and Indian Secretaries of State for consideration, no answer appears to have been sent by either of those ministers.

"90. Of the thirteen other replies sent from the India office to these Memorials, the *first* was to the Manchester Chamber of Commerce, dated 3rd August, 1860,—‘acknowledging with thanks, the copy sent to the Secretary of State for India of their Memorial of the 12th July, 1860, to Lord Palmerston.’

The *second*, in reply to the Memorial addressed to you, Sir, by the Liverpool East India and China Association, dated the 23rd September, 1862, was a repetition of your answers of the 13th and 22nd November, 1863, quoted in par. 83 preceding, to the memorials sent up to the President of the Board of Trade by the Liverpool Chamber of Commerce, on the 5th September, and by the Liverpool Shipowners' Association, on the 29th October, 1862; while the *third* acknowledged the memorial of the Cotton Supply Association to the Prime Minister, dated the 5th July, 1863, which pointed out to Viscount Palmerston:—

‘The capabilities of the Burman Shan States of Moni, Kiang-Tung, and Kiang-Hung, for the cultivation and production of cotton; and requested that steps might be taken to open up communication between Rangoon and the States in question,’

Your reply to which, dated 28th July, 1863, stated:—

‘That the matter to which Lord Palmerston’s attention is called, has already been under the consideration of this department, and that instructions have been issued to the Government of India, *to report on the best means to be adopted for developing the resources and improving the intercommunications of British Burma.*’

"91. The 4th, 5th, 6th, 7th, 8th, 9th, 10th, 11th and 12th of the replies from you, contained in the Parliamentary paper, are also in answer to the other Memorials to the Prime Minister, from the following chambers and associations:—

Leeds Chamber, 3rd memorial . . . . .	1st October, 1863.
Liverpool Chamber, 3rd memorial . . . . .	6th October, 1863.
Liverpool Shipowners' Association, 2nd memorial . . . . .	— October, 1863.
Halifax Chamber, 2nd memorial . . . . .	— October, 1863.
Bristol Chamber . . . . .	16th October, 1863.
London India and China Association . . . . .	29th October, 1863.
Salt Proprietors of Cheshire and Worcester-shire . . . . .	5th November, 1863.



Glasgow Chamber . . . . . 18th November, 1863.

Liverpool India and China Association, 2nd

memorial . . . . . 27th November, 1863.

all of which more or less prayed, in terms unusually earnest :—

‘That a survey might be made by practised railway engineers, of the country between Rangoon and the Meikong or Upper Kamboja river, on the south-west frontier of China proper.’

Your Under Secretaries replies to which, under different dates from the 16th October to 7th December, 1863, were, in substance, as follows :—

‘I am directed by the Secretary of State for India in Council, to acknowledge your Memorial addressed to Viscount Palmerston, praying that the Government of India may be instructed to depute a qualified engineer to survey the country between Rangoon and Kiang-Hung on the Upper Kamboja river, with a view to the eventual construction of a road, as may be found best, between those points; and I am to inform you in reply, that the Government of India have been instructed to report on the best means to be adopted for developing the resources and improving the intercommunications of British Burma. Pending the receipt of their report, Sir Charles Wood is not prepared to issue any further or more specific orders on the subject.’

“92. The last of those nine uniform replies bore date India Office, 7th December, 1863. A few weeks after which, viz.—on the 28th January, 1864, your final answer to this unusual series of commercial Memorials to a Prime Minister and three other Cabinet Ministers, was written by your then Under Secretary, Mr. Baring, M.P., to the President of the Huddersfield Chamber of Commerce, in answer to that Chamber’s very explanatory second Memorial to the Prime Minister, and was as follows :—

‘INDIA OFFICE, 28th January, 1864.’

‘SIR,

‘I am directed by the Secretary of State for India in Council, to acknowledge the receipt of the Memorial of the Huddersfield Chamber of Commerce, addressed to Viscount Palmerston, praying that the Government of India may be instructed to depute a qualified engineer to survey the country between Rangoon and Kiang-Hung, with a view to the eventual construction of a road, as may be found best, between those two points; and I am to inform you in reply, that, in accordance with the opinion expressed by the late Viceroy the Earl of Elgin, Sir Charles Wood is not prepared to sanction the measure suggested by you.

‘I am, &c.

‘T. G. BARING.’

“93. Now, Sir, whether this your ultimate adverse decision, so conveyed, in 1864, to the Huddersfield Chamber of Commerce, was communicated to

the many other commercial bodies, who, as we have herein shown, between July, 1860, and February, 1864, addressed Memorials to the Prime Minister, the President of the Board of Trade, and the Secretaries of State for Foreign Affairs and for India, in favour of the commercial opening of the west of China direct from Rangoon, and praying that the intermediate country might be professionally surveyed, the parliamentary paper before us does not show. Nor does your reply to the Huddersfield Chamber make known any particulars of 'the opinion expressed' by the Earl of Elgin when Viceroy of India, which caused you to withhold your sanction to such a survey of that part of British India for the great commercial objects more or less set forth in each of the twenty-six Memorials. It is, however, in our recollection, that the letter we had the honour to write to you on the 20th January, 1864, stated, in its 15th paragraph, that:—

'As appearing to us the only effectual way to prevent the loss of another dry season in making the desired survey from Shway-Gyeen, in British Pegu, to Kiang-Hung, we are occupying ourselves in forming a plan by which, with the concurrence of yourself and Council, the necessary complete survey—such as the Memorials have prayed for, and as the Chief Commissioner of British Burma has in vain so repeatedly recommended—of the route their Memorials indicate, shall be made during the *next* dry season; under the direction of a railway engineer, on whose report H.M.'s Ministers, the Government of India, the several Memorialists, and the general public of both countries, shall be able to rely with all confidence.'

And that your Under Secretary, Mr. Baring's reply to this, dated India Office, 11th February, 1864, thus concluded:—

'And I am to inform you in reply, that, concurring in the opinion expressed by the late Viceroy of India, the Earl of Elgin, in respect of this survey, Sir Charles Wood does not consider it expedient to sanction the measure proposed by you.'

In our acknowledgment of which, dated 21st March, 1864, we did ourselves the honour to request of you:—

'To allow us the benefit of a copy of the Earl of Elgin's communication, expressing 'the opinion,' and of any documents that may have accompanied it.'

The answer to which was:—

'INDIA OFFICE, 11th April, 1864.

'GENTLEMEN,

'I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 21st ultimo, and I am to inform you in reply, that Sir Charles Wood regrets that he cannot comply with your request.

'I am, &c.

'CAPTAIN and MR. SPRYE.

'HENRY MERIVALE.'

"94. Now, it so happened, Sir, that after the Earl of Elgin was nominated to the Viceroyalty of India, and before he embarked to assume that high office, he did us the honour, after some correspondence on the subject, to grant us an interview, personally to explain to him, with the advantage of our maps, the exact character of our propositions, their perfect practicability with Government support, and in what their realization would prove beneficial to British and Indian commerce, and to the almost unpeopled, and to the Indian Government very costly, provinces of Pegu, Martaban, and Tenasserim; and that after hearing us, examining the maps, and asking us many questions, our answers to which his Lordship was pleased to admit were satisfactory to him, he observed, that the great benefit that *must* result to both England and India, and to British Burma in particular, from the realization of our propositions, could not be denied; and that the subject should receive his early and most attentive consideration after his arrival in India. What afterwards influenced his Lordship to treat the question as he did at Calcutta, and to transmit to you 'the opinion' you name to us, is, of course, well-known to you, Sir; and in justice to them, if not to us, should, we think, be communicated to the several Commercial Chambers and Associations of the kingdom, who have memorialized H.M.'s Ministers on the subject in the earnest manner we have pointed out.

"95. The Parliamentary Paper, 'Burma Commercial Treaty,' presented on an address of the House of Commons, dated 10th May, 1864, shows that among the points laid down by the Viceroy, on the 12th May, 1862, at Calcutta, for the guidance of his Political Agent in negotiating that treaty with the King of Ava, the short direct route from Rangoon to China *was not named*. The points were:—

'2nd. The Caravan route *from Ava, viâ Bhamo*, to the Chinese province of Yunan, to be reopened by means of a joint British and Burman mission 'to the frontier.

'3rd. British merchants to be allowed to go *by that route*, or to send their 'Agents, and to be allowed to place Agents, European or Asiatic, *at Bhamo*, 'in order to attend to the trade.

'4th. Chinese traders and *labourers* from Yunan, to be allowed to pass into 'British territory without hindrance. This stipulation, if possible, to be 'made to apply to *routes leading towards Assam*, as well as to those which take 'the direction of Pegu.

'5th. *Opium* to be allowed to pass from the British territories through 'Burma into Yunan, *either duty free, or on payment of a moderate transit duty*.

"96. In these instructions to the Political Agent, we see, Sir, that the mind of the Viceroy and his Council were directed to the opening a way between *Assam* and the *North-west* of Yunan, across the very mountainous North of Burma proper, rather than between Rangoon and the Upper Kanboja river on

the South-west frontier of that province; and more with the view of thereby obtaining Chinese 'labourers' to clear ground for tea plantations in Assam, and of conveying the Opium of India to that part of China, free from transit duty; than of opening the West of China by a direct short route, such as would also admit of a ready and regular exchange, the year through, of the manufactures of England, for those many commercial products of Western China which are suited and needful to the use of the Home manufacturers, and to the consumption of the people of England. Unfortunately, as the Parliamentary paper from which we have quoted, professes to give 'the Report or Extracts from' 'the Report forwarded to the Viceroy by his Political Agent who negotiated 'the Treaty,' we feel that the most essential portions of that Report, for a correct understanding of the circumstances which guided or controlled him in the negotiation, may not be known to us on such authority as would give us confidence in fully commenting to you upon the negotiation and the worthless Irawadee and Bhamo route treaty which resulted from it. But we may state that private information, received at the time from the East, leads us to consider that, in addition to the above purely Indian reasons for directing the negotiations exclusively to that circuitous, difficult, and wild river and land route, Lord Elgin was influenced by the opinions our Foreign office had before officially expressed *adverse to the direct route* from Rangoon; and also by a knowledge possessed by that State Department of views entertained by FRANCE, in which the Foreign office had culpably acquiesced, of ascending from her new Cochin Chinese possession in the Sea of China, by the river Kamboja and its vallies, to Laos, the Shan States, and West of China; to further which French objects in that part of Asia, and to oppose British interests there, French Agents existed at Mandalay, exercising considerable influence over the King of Ava, his heir-apparent, and Ministers."

This introductory review of the conduct of Ministers on the question of trade with the Shans and Western Chinese, has extended much beyond what we intended. It will, however, we trust, both justify the tone of the three following letters to Mr. Gladstone, *as one of the Members for South Lancashire*, as well as Chancellor of the Exchequer; and show to the manufacturers, shipowners, and merchants of the country, and to their representative bodies—the Commercial and Shipping Chambers and Associations of the United Kingdoms, that their appeals to Government on questions of trade, *are* sometimes disregarded by those Ministers to whom they are addressed, and who should give ready heed to them; and that their best interests *are* sometimes made wreck of by ministerial neglect, and official evasion and misrepresentation. At the risk of some repetition, we will support our own belief in these latter statements with the following summary of facts drawn from the Pur-

liamentary and official papers before referred to on the subject we treat of, viz. —

As regards the late First Lord of the Treasury,  
VISCOUNT PALMERSTON, K.G., G.C.B., M.P.

That the first Memorial regarding it from the Manchester Chamber of Commerce to his Lordship, dated the 12th July, 1860, (*No. 1, pa. 47, 48*), was not even acknowledged.

That the second Memorial from the same Chamber to his Lordship, dated the 22nd July, 1863, (*No. 15, pa. 55, 56*), was left similarly unnoticed, laid aside, and lost.

That the only one of the many Memorials to him on the subject, which Lord Palmerston did acknowledge, the first from the Cheshire and Worcestershire Salt Proprietors, (*No. 11, pa. 9, China, 0.77, 1864*), was acknowledged with an official misstatement.

That when, during a recess, we solicited the honor of an interview with his Lordship, at his convenience, to explain, with maps, the importance to England and India of opening the proposed trade with the Shans and Western Chinese from Rangoon—not only commercially, but in political, naval, and military points of view—and the facilities for opening it; we were answered, that his Lordship was too occupied to see us.

As regards the late Foreign Secretary of State,  
EARL RUSSEL, K.G.

That the several other Memorials addressed to Lord Palmerston, and which he passed on to the Foreign Secretary to dispose of, were, through three years, replied to by this Minister, in the profoundest ignorance of all the points—geographical, commercial, and political—of the great question they embraced; and the subject treated with a departmental hostility so decided and dictatorial as to reject all offers of information, and to send forth to the different Chambers the unsound and puerile opinions before noticed; such as no other government office would, we fancy, have committed to official paper.

That when—in the belief that, however “novel” our propositions were to Foreign office minds, we *had* collected the most full and correct information of the several countries and peoples between India and the Bay of Bengal, and the eastern half of China—we twice offered the Foreign Secretary to proceed to that country, on terms most advantageous to the government, there to give to the Earl of Elgin the benefit of such our information, when the time came for him to negotiate afresh with the Chinese Government; our first offer received only official acknowledgment, while our second one was answered, without any request to see us, or

any attempt to learn from us the nature of the information and assistance we considered we should be able to render,—“that his Lordship had no need of our services.”

That when, under this adverse Foreign office influence, the Peking Convention of the 24th October, 1860, and Treaty with the King of Ava, of the 10th November, 1862, had seemingly closed the door against the desired new trade; the same Foreign Secretary, in something like official burlesque, informed the still memorializing Chambers, *not* of that Convention and that Treaty, but,—“that the matter to which their Memorials related, more immediately comes within the department of H.M.’s Secretary of State for India, to whom the Memorialists should address themselves.”—(*No. 25, pa. 61*).

As regards the President of the Board of Trade,

THE RT. HON. WILLIAM MILNER GIBSON, M.P.

That when we addressed a letter of information and appeal to him on the subject, as being the Minister whose duty it especially was to watch over the nation’s foreign trade, and to extend it in every direction where it could be advantageously extended; the only notice taken of it to us was, an acknowledgment of it, as being a letter on *overland* trade with the *East* of China!

That while our letter of the 12th of May, 1858, to the Foreign Secretary, was passed on by him to the Board of Trade, which Board took no notice of it to us; other letters of ours to this Board were sent by it to the Foreign and other offices, to be left by them equally unnoticed to us.

That when the Liverpool and other Chambers of Commerce sent up Memorials on the subject to the Board of Trade, the only answers were, to some, that their Memorials had been sent on to the Secretary of State for India; to others, that they had been sent to the Foreign Secretary; and to others, that copies had been sent to both of those ministers.

That when, also during the leisure of a recess, we applied to the President of the Board to be allowed to wait upon him, to explain our propositions more clearly and fully than it was possible to do in writing, he also replied, that he was officially too occupied!

As regards the Secretary of State for India,

THE RT. HON. SIR CHARLES WOOD, BART., G.C.B., M.P.

In considering this Minister’s treatment of the proposition for a new foreign trade which promised to be of such durable benefit, in several ways, to the important portion of H.M.’s Empire under his rule,

viz., to India generally, and to British Burma in particular, it is necessary, in order to make the statement chronologically continuous, to re-submit in their order of date, some of the previous quotations from different Memorials, etc. This is due alike to the subject, to the Memorialists, and to ourselves. First, however, it must be remembered that Memorials were sent up to the First Lord of the Treasury and other Ministers, in the latter half of the year 1860, from the Chambers of Commerce of Bradford, Cheshire, Halifax, Huddersfield, Leeds 2, Liverpool, and Manchester, in favor of the trade being carried on overland from Rangoon, across the Shan States of Kiang-Tung and Kiang-Hung. Copies of some of those Memorials were forwarded by the Chambers direct to the Secretary of State for India. Among these was the one from the Manchester Chamber, dated the 12th July, 1860, (*No. 1, pa. 47*), which contained the following passages:—

“This Chamber understands that a considerable traffic already exists between the Western Chinese—who use their frontier city of Esmok as the gate of such trade—and the Shans and Burmans; and that were facilities given for the construction of roads or other communication from Pegu *in that direction*, such a measure would confer the greatest benefits upon the interests of commerce.

“Your Memorialists also respectfully suggest that an Envoy be instructed to proceed to His Majesty the King of Ava, to announce that Her Majesty the Queen of England has assumed the direct government of her territories in India; and to express Her Majesty’s desire for the maintenance of amity and friendship with the King of Ava, so that the subjects of each Power, living, as they do, in contiguity and free intercourse, may develop the resources of the countries in which they dwell; as also those of the new and important portion of the Chinese Empire which, it is hoped, may be thus opened to our commerce.”

This sensible and suggestive appeal from one of the most important manufacturing and commercial bodies of the United Kingdoms, was acknowledged by the Secretary of State for India, with thanks, on the 3rd August, 1860; but received no other attention, save that, ten months later, viz., in June, 1861, that Minister,—“directed the notice of the Government of India to the subject.”

Jealous as the Foreign office showed itself of any commercial intercourse between India and China, other than through the distant Chinese Ports, having Consuls under its control; the India office was no less jealous of, and opposed to, Her Majesty’s holding that direct Envoy-intercourse with the Ava Sovereign, which His Majesty and his royal predecessors had so

repeatedly expressed their strong desire for, which he rightly enough considered himself entitled to as a still independent Monarch, and which he had had with successive rulers of France.

Unfortunately, also, for the opening of trade with the Shan States and West of China, the special Ambassador to China who negotiated the Treaty of Tientsin and the Convention of Peking, and had studiously excluded from them all mention of such a trade on the west of the Empire, and of an extension of the Telegraph by that route, was now Viceroy and Governor-General of India; in which high office he again overlooked the interests of British and Indian foreign trade, and equally disregarded the welfare of British Burma, in order to continue the jealous anti-commercial policy of his previous Foreign office chief; in which his present ministerial superior, the Indian Secretary of State, so unaccountably and submissively concurred, to the great prejudice of the country intrusted to his controlling rule.

Thus it was that, on the 12th May, 1862, two years after the dates of the Memorials last referred to, Viceroy the Earl of Elgin, to whom we furnished copies of our Pamphlets, Maps, and Circular Sheets, on the subject, sent the instructions already quoted, to his political agent to the King of Ava—which officer was, also, the Chief Commissioner of British Burma—for the negotiation of a commercial treaty with his Majesty. We have shown that *in* those instructions, all mention of the Shan States, and of the accessible *South West* of China, was studiously omitted; while the mere dry season, “Caravan route *from* Ava, *via* Bhamo, to the *North* of Yunan,” which, even if practicable for regular trade—as it is not, and never can be made—is wholly out of the way of the Shan States, and unsuited to commerce between Rangoon and China; was specially pointed out by his Excellency to his agent, as *the route* to be negotiated for: the transit of Opium across from India to China, and passage of Coolies *from* China to Assam, being stated to be the objects desired. Arriving at the Ava capital on the 8th October, 1863, the agent forwarded to the king on the 13th of that month, “a draft of what he, the agent, proposed should be the treaty.” This draft, framed in conformity with the Viceroy’s instructions, of course made no allusion to trade with the Shan States, or of the short direct land route across them, from our Pegu N.E. frontier, to China; but specified, as *the one for trade between Rangoon and China*, that long and circuitous Irawadee river route, of 850 miles, to Bhamo; and the wild land route *thence*, of 250 miles, across the black mountain ranges, known to be inhabited by very savage tribes.

Before this impolitic, useless, and now proven worthless, treaty was,



however, concluded, still further Memorials were sent up to H.M.'s Ministers from the Liverpool Chamber, the Liverpool India and China Association, and the Liverpool Shipowners' Association; all of which came to Sir Charles Wood to consider and answer. The last of them (*No. 12, pa. 53*) stated:—

“It appears to your Memorialists that the best route for such a trade would be from Rangoon to the north-east limit of our provinces of Pegu and Martaban, &c., &c., &c.; and we, therefore, respectfully submit the above to your favourable consideration, with a view to the negotiation of a Treaty with the King of Ava, fixing the transit duties across his territory; and to a survey of the line of country from Rangoon to Kiang-Hung, for a railway, tramway, or other such road as will suffice for the extension of commerce which may be confidently expected to pass over it.”

Sir Charles Wood's answers to these Memorials were, (*Nos. 9, 11, and 14, pps. 51, 52, and 54*), that:—

“He directed the notice of the Government of India to the subject in June, 1861, and that he had recently received a dispatch from that authority, stating that the Chief Commissioner of British Burma,—‘had been desired to keep his attention directed to the prospects of trade with Western China, and to avail himself of every favourable opportunity to obtain a knowledge of the several routes which have been suggested for tapping the commerce of China in that quarter.’”

At the times of his so answering those Memorials from Liverpool, the Secretary of State for India must have had official knowledge, “that the Chief Commissioner of British Burma” had been sent by the Viceroy and Governor-General, as his political agent, to negotiate a Treaty with the King of Ava, which would limit the route for commerce with China to the impossible *one* before indicated, by which commerce could never be carried on with the Shans and Western Chinese from Rangoon. And as the Earl of Elgin excluded trade with Western China, and the telegraph extension, from the treaty of Tientsin and Convention of Peking, on the instructions of his then official Superior, the Secretary of State for Foreign affairs; so, in drawing up the instructions for his own political agent, to negotiate a Treaty with the Ava Sovereign, he must be considered to have omitted mention of the Shan States and the direct land route from Rangoon, and to have specified the Irawadee and Bhamo route as the one to be negotiated for, under instructions from his at that time official Chief, the Secretary of State for India. What then can be thought of this minister's continued deceptive replies to the Memorials of our Chambers of Commerce?

The misnamed "*Burma Commercial Treaty*," was signed at Mandalay on the 10th November, 1862, and ratified by the Viceroy and Governor-General on the 13th December following, with letter of approval and praise to his political agent the negociator of it; which approval and praise was repeated by the Secretary of State for India on the 9th May, 1862. Upwards of 3 years have since passed: and not only has no British or Indian commerce been carried on with China under that Treaty, but not a chest of Indian Opium has passed from Ava through Bhamo to China, or a Cooly from China to the Assam jungle clearings for the tea plantations of Calcutta speculators. Yet was £50,000 a-year of frontier duties—which, as already observed, were yearly increasing—recklessly given up to the King of Ava for that Treaty: while, to augment the inadequate revenue of India, a considerable duty had been laid on all English goods imported into British Burma, and a heavy export duty on the one commercial product of that country—rice. Thus are the interests of British manufacturers and merchants cared for and treated in our ministerial offices, and by those authorities abroad who have to conform to their "political and secret" official instructions.

After the Secretary of State for India had dispatched to Calcutta, under date the 9th May, 1863, his full approval of the treaty and his high commendation "of the tact, firmness, and sound discretion, evinced by the Agent in negotiating it," still another Memorial, dated the 28th July, 1863, (*No. 16, pa. 56, 57*), was forwarded to him by Lord Palmerston, from the Manchester Cotton Supply Association; which pointed out, among other things:—

"The capabilities of the Shan States of Moni, Kiang-Tung, and Kiang-Hung, for the cultivation and supply of cotton;" and requested, "that steps might be taken to open up communication between the port of Rangoon and the States in question."

The Indian Secretary's answer to which appeal, dated the 28th July, 1863, (*No. 17, pa. 57*), written with the adverse Ava Treaty and his official approval of it on his table, was:—

"That the matter to which Lord Palmerston's attention is called by the Cotton Supply Association, has already been under the consideration of this Department, and that instructions have been issued to the government of India to report on the best means to be adopted," [not to establish British and Indian commerce with the Shan States and West of China, but] "for developing the resources, and improving the intercommunications of British Burma."

Subsequent to which further official evasion of all that so many

Memorials from leading commercial bodies had recommended and prayed for, no fewer than ten additional such appeals, from Bristol, Cheshire, Glasgow, Gloucester, Halifax, Leeds, Liverpool, London, and Worcestershire, were forwarded, by other Ministers, to the Indian Secretary of State to consider and reply to. All of those Memorials (*Parliamentary Paper, China*, 0.77, 1864) more or less strongly urged :—

“The opening of trade with the Shans and Western Chinese, by the direct land route from Rangoon;” and prayed “that a professional survey of the country from that port to Kiang-Hung on the upper Kamboja river, might be made, under the direction of a qualified engineer, with a view to the eventual construction of a road, as may be found best, between those two points.”

These ten additional appeals were, however, all replied to by Sir Charles Wood, at different dates, in the precise words of his above quoted answer to the Cotton Supply Association, with the little and somewhat repulsive addition :—

“That pending the receipt of the Report of the Government of India, the Secretary of State for India is not prepared to issue any further or more specific orders on the subject.”

The last of those answers (*No. 27, pa. 62*) bore date the 7th December, 1863. Shortly after which, the Huddersfield Chamber of Commerce, rightly nothing daunted, sent up to Lord Palmerston its second Memorial on the subject, more earnestly framed than had been any previous one, (*No. 47, China*, 0.77, 1864), urging also :—

“The opening of the direct land route from Rangoon, across the Shan States, to the West of China;” and praying “that a thorough survey of the route from Rangoon across Pegu and the south-eastern corner of Burma proper—the Shan States—to Kiang-Hung, might be entered upon by a sufficient party of surveyors and engineers, acting under the direction of a chief engineer of eminence, whose report would be calculated to give satisfaction to H.M.’s Government, and to the manufacturing and trading classes of this country.”

This specific, moderate, and in every respect becoming appeal, was answered on the 28th January, 1864, (*No. 48, China*, 0.77, 1864), by the Under Secretary of State for India; who informed the Huddersfield Chamber beyond what had been communicated to any other Chamber :—

“That in accordance with the opinion expressed by the late Viceroy of India, the Earl of Elgin, the Secretary of State for India is not prepared to sanction the measures suggested by you.”

Thus concluded the official farce performed by the Foreign office in referring Chambers of Commerce to the Secretary of State for India, *after* the Foreign Secretary had wantonly flung away the commanding power the Convention of Peking gave him of securing the needed trade with the West of China, and the extension of the Pegu telegraph to the open ports ; and *after* that department had, with the Indian Secretary's concurrence, and the diplomatic assistance of his subordinate Viceroy—the Special Ambassador who had realized that false policy in China—created treaty obstacles also with the King and Government of Ava, to the realization of two great commercial projects, which originally only required the observance of a mere common sense policy at both Peking and Mandalay.

This ministerial sacrifice of the best interests of our manufacturers and merchants, and official "political and secret" obstruction of the peaceable extension of our trade over rich foreign regions and among industrious and enterprising peoples, as yet strangers to it, is wholly chargeable, as we have often before had to observe, to the anomalous and powerless position held in the Government by the President of the Board of Trade ; or rather, begging their pardons, by "the Right Hon. the Lords Committee of H.M.'s Privy Council for Trade and Plantations." We are not sufficient antiquarians to state when this Department of State was instituted, or what was the then position of our national manufactures, and extent of our foreign trade. Nor can we say whether the Archbishop of Canterbury was, originally, in virtue of his Mitre, a member of the "Committee of Council." But Evelyn records in his Diary, under a date just two centuries back,—“that in a conversation he had with the “Holland Ambassador about sea-borne trade, that Ambassador laughed “at the English Committee of Trade, as composed of men wholly ignorant “of trade, and who were really its ruin.” The department was originally “The Council of Foreign Plantations,” and was formed principally of officers of state and noblemen. In 1671, it was called “The Commissioners of Plantations,” and they then met in the Earl of Bristol's mansion in Queen Street, Lincoln's-Inn-Fields. In 1672 a new patent was passed, “joining the Council of Trade to the Commissioners political capacities,” or rather “constituting those who were of the Council “of Plantations, to be now of the Council of Trade also, both united.”\*

\* The Council then consisted of the Lord Keeper, the Earl of Arlington, and Sir John Trevor, Secretaries of State ; Lord Ashly, Treasurer ; the Duke of Buckingham, Earl of Lauderdale, Lord Culpeper, Lord Allington, Sir George Carteret, Sir John Duncombe, Hon. Mr. Grey, Mr. Henry Broucher, Sir Humphrey Winch, Sir John Finch, Mr. Waller, Colonel Titus of the Bed-Chamber, &c. ; who subscribed

The department continued to be "The Council of Foreign Plantations and Trade" until the wise establishment of a Secretary of State for the Colonies relieved it of by far the principal part of its duties. Since then, "The Rt. Hon. the Lords Committee of H.M.'s Privy Council for Trade" only, have continued a sort of outside Government department, without that relative rank or authority in the Cabinet, or in its intercourse with the other Ministerial departments, to which the increased and constantly increasing extent and importance of the Nation's manufactures and trade entitle it.

To this day the Committee is not composed of manufacturers, merchants, shipowners, bankers, or others connected with commerce, and conversant with all its different interests; but includes, in addition to other high officers of state, the Lord Chancellor, the Speaker of the House of Commons, the Secretary of State for War, the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, the Paymaster of the Forces, the Master of the Mint, the Under-Treasurer of the Navy, and all officers of State in Ireland who are Privy Councillors in England. True, the Committee has also a President and Vice-President, six principal Secretaries, &c., four assistant Secretaries, four private Secretaries, sixty-two Clerks, thirteen Messengers, &c.; an official staff amply large—if well selected, rightly organized, and invested with the rank and authority becoming and necessary to a principal department of State—watchfully to observe the growing trade and commercial capabilities of every other country, and to protect and promote our national interests therein, at every point. The "Committee of Council," or Board of Trade, has, however, no real authority in the Government. The President of the Board, instead of ranking next in the Cabinet to the First Lord of the Treasury, the Lord Chancellor, and Chancellor of the Exchequer, has a cabinet seat only by sufferance; and in matters relating to trade with foreign countries, with our colonies, and with India, is kept, all possible, at arms length by the Secretaries of State presiding over those departments of the Government. Abundant proof of this will be found in the evidence attached to the Report made by Mr. Forster's Committee of last Session; though, unfortunately, that Committee, having been limited to "examining into the mutual relations of the *Foreign office* and the Board of Trade, on "foreign trade questions," was controlled in its inquiries by those terms of reference. Had these included, also, the *India and Colonial offices*, £20 each to build a Council Chamber somewhere in Whitehall, so that the King might attend and hear their discussions; the subscriptions to be re-paid out of the £1,000 yearly contingent monies set apart for the Commissioners.

it would have very greatly enhanced the value to the country of that Committee's labours. Its proceedings were also, we have reason to believe, unduly expedited, in order to make a report before the Session closed; and thus, even as respects the Foreign office, the evidence is not so full on some points of interest as it otherwise might have been. Still, it fully confirms our long experience of Foreign office incompetence and indifference in matters commercial, and of the total want of Board of Trade rank and authority in the Government. And having referred to this Parliamentary Report in our letter of the 29th April, 1865, to the Secretary of State for India, we will finally quote from the latter document a few more paragraphs, as deserving, in our opinion, the most serious consideration of every one interested in the prosperity of our Foreign trade generally; and more especially of that now important portion of it carried on with India. This, in 1864, had attained to imports from India of the value of £55,000,000 sterling! an amount which, very large as it is, would be rapidly and greatly increased by the opening up of the Shan States and West of China, in the manner we have proposed, from the port of Rangoon; while those countries would, also, very greatly promote our *Home export trade*. The passages of our letter to the Secretary of State for India here referred to, ran:—

“153. Our Foreign office may not be expected to be geographically fully informed of distant countries where it has no subordinate departmental officers, or to be commercially read up beyond those trading questions which are brought under its immediate notice in the treaties it negotiates. But the *official* as well as much other evidence given before Mr. Forster's Committee of Inquiry last Session, clearly established that, as regards the interests of our foreign commerce, alteration in *that office is, on other accounts, cryingly called for*.

“154. By the same evidence, the President of the Board of Trade—who we have long recommended should be made SECRETARY OF STATE for COMMERCE—was shown to possess no power or freedom of action in dealing with Colonial and Indian commercial subjects, any more than he had with those connected with Foreign Powers. Respecting trade with these last he had to correspond with the Foreign Secretary of State, and on the Colonial trade with the Secretary of State for the Colonies. But on all matters having reference to the national trade with any part of British India, or where such trade had to pass across any part of that portion of H. M.'s empire, the Board of Trade President represented to the Committee, and it is in print before the public,—‘*that little or no intercourse passed between him and the 'India office.*’ And to the following questions, happily put to him by the Committee, he replied as follows:—

'Question 3443. By the India office, you are consulted scarcely at all, are you?

'Answer. Not at all. It sometimes happens that I have a communication by letter from the Secretary of State for India, requesting me to give him some information that he requires, and which he may think I have facilities of getting in my office; but officially the Secretary of State for India does not consult us at all. I do not know that he has ever done so, in the sense of consulting the department, since I have been at the Board of Trade.

'Question 3477. Do you obtain information with respect to the trade and commerce connected with India at all.

'Answer. I do not think we do. The Indian department has kept itself entirely independent of all other departments in the State, I believe, so far as they have been able to do so. We sometimes supply them with information: but the communications between the Secretary of State for India and the Board of Trade are unfrequent.

'Question 3486. Has the Secretary of State for India ever informed you that sheeps' wool, flax, silk, and cotton, could be very generally supplied from India, if home markets could be found for those products.

'Answer. I do not know that he ever has.

'Question 3521. Were you aware of the alteration which took place the other day in the Indian tariff.

'Answer. No. The India office do not communicate with us.

'Question 3522. Therefore, our trade with India is, really, without a department representing it, in any way connected with the Government.

'Answer. Certainly: without any specially representing it, beyond the India office.'

"155. This seems to us to establish, Sir, that a more than ordinary attention is at all times due *from the India office itself*, to every matter interesting to British commerce in connection with the Indian portion of H.M.'s empire. And, that the interests of *that* commerce should be *there* studied, and upheld, in every instance where not prejudicial to H. M.'s Indian subjects, or to the Indian Government, must, we think, be admitted by all. How much more deserving then of India office attention and encouragement are not commercial propositions which, while their object is to benefit more or less all of the Home country who are interested in manufacture, shipbuilding, or trade, and thereby to benefit also the Home Government, *at the same time tend to bring and perpetuate greater benefits to INDIA, to her people, and to her Government?*

"156. The propositions on which we have had the honour so often to address you and others of H.M.'s Ministers since 1856, without as yet attracting to them your or their sufficient attention, we unhesitatingly pronounce to have been and to be for the benefit of the Government of India, and for the good of our Indian fellow-subjects, as much as for the benefit of the Home manu-

facturers, merchants, people, or Government. To establish this we would refer, Sir, to our letter to you on the subject, dated London, 20th January, 1862: in which communication the advantages the realization of our projects would confer on India, and on British Burma in particular, were at considerable length set forth, as regards both the Telegraph and Commerce."

Unfortunately for both countries, the system of our rule in India, hitherto, has caused the mass of the people of the United Kingdoms to take little or no interest in that the grandest of Her Majesty's transmarine possessions. Few are fully aware of the magnitude of the possession, the variety of climate it embraces, the populations contained in it, the commercial products capable of being there raised, or the extent of trade it could maintain, under right government, with the Home country. BRITISH-INDIA extends from about 8° to 35° N. Lat., and on the north, from about 65° to 100° E. Lon.; measuring from East to West about 1700 miles, and the same from Cape Comorin to the North; and containing nearly 1,400,000 square miles of territory, with a population of from 175 to 200 millions; of which and of whom full 800,000 square miles and 125 millions of people, are under British direct rule; while all the remainder is subject, more or less, to British control, as the paramount power.

Among the commercial products of India, exported to England, are coffee, cotton, hides, indigo, ivory, jute, lack, rice, saltpetre, seeds, shawls, silk, spice, sugar, tea, woods, wool, etc. In 1864, the imports into England from India were of the value of fifty-five millions of pounds sterling. This, large as it is, may be still augmented indefinitely, and the import of British goods into India be progressively increased, by the resolute pursuit there of a policy "of peace and good will," and of just and considerate government, with continued improvement and extension of the intercommunications of the country, by canals, railways, tramroads, and ordinary highways. And, as before stated, the commercial opening of the Shan States, West of China, Laos, etc., by railway from the port of Rangoon, will alone open to Britain and India extensive and rich *new* fields that will yield increased supplies of all Asiatic products, and furnish countless customers for British and Indian goods in return.

The realization of these and many other great commercial benefits only requires that COMMERCE should be adequately represented in the English Ministry, and be properly encouraged by the Government of India. That it is *not* so represented in the one government, or so encouraged by the other, is abundantly shown in the preceding pages, and by our extract from the Report of Mr. Forster's Committee of Enquiry.



And not only, as therein stated,—“is our trade with India wholly unrepresented by any department of government beyond the India office,” but the India office itself, large and very costly—to India—as that establishment is, has no commercial branch within it. Though the Royal Kalendar shows the office to be divided into twelve principal branches, yet Commerce is not among them. True, the office has a “Reporter on the products of India,” with one clerk! But if this is considered by the Indian Secretary of State and his Council sufficient for the advancement of Indian Cultivation and Commerce, the manufacturing and commercial interests of the United Kingdoms surely cannot consider it all that is therein due to them.

We will conclude these Introductory observations, then, by once more repeating our suggestion that, to correct the evils in regard to commerce which are now so generally known to exist in the constitution of the Cabinet and in the working of the different Ministerial Departments, and of which this Introduction furnishes such proofs from our own experience of fourteen years official communication with them, the ancient office of “The Rt. Hon. the Lords of Committee of Privy Council for Trade,” should be abolished; and a *bona fide* DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE substituted for it, presided over by a “Secretary of State for Commerce,” having under him, as have the five other State Secretaries, Parliamentary and permanent Under Secretaries of State; and, that among the divisions of the new office, there shall be three to communicate with the Foreign, Colonial, and India offices, on matters of Commerce relating to their several departments; each of those three offices also having a branch to attend to the commercial matters appertaining to it, and to communicate thereon with the department of the Secretary of State for Commerce. The Chambers of Commerce and all other bodies, or individuals, wishing to communicate with the Government on commercial subjects, would then have to address the Secretary of State for Commerce only, whose duty it would be, where called for, to communicate with other Ministers, and to reply to those who addressed him: an arrangement as much for the advantage of the Treasury, the Foreign, Colonial, and India offices, as of those who are personally interested in the Nation’s right commercial progress.

When, from the sole want of proper organization, administrative incapacity, with absence of direct responsibility, became alarmingly manifest in the Crimean war, it required but little time and discussion to *increase* the Cabinet Ministers and State Departments, by adding a Secretary of State for War to the very many costly military depart-

ments already existing. Surely then, looking to the mighty interests now included in the foreign trade of the country, extended or fast extending to every approachable part of the world; and seeing that the protection, also, of this immense yet annually growing commerce, is of the first importance to the country at large as regards the remunerative employment of a steadily increasing and improving population, *and as regards, also, the public revenue*; it should not be difficult to convert "My Lords of the Committee," the President of the Board, and all their official belongings, into a properly organized Secretary of State's Department, which should be thoroughly well informed and efficient regarding all matters of trade interesting to our country, in every part of the world.

We again, therefore, recommend the change to the early and most serious consideration of each and every Commercial Chamber and Association throughout the United Kingdoms, and to every Member of the House of Commons who is individually interested, directly or indirectly, in the permanent well-doing, the world over, against all competitors, of the mineral, manufacturing, shipping, and mercantile interests of the country. There is nothing political in the question. It is a reform of a government department glaringly required,—one in every way becoming and worthy of being called for *by those Chambers and Associations*,—it especially pertains to *them* to call for it,—and if *they* do this in the firm and commanding manner the support of the commercial members of the House of Commons will admit of, their requirement must be complied with. *Then*, the ministerial neglect, slight, and repulsion, which we have had to endure through fourteen years' advocacy of a peaceful, practicable, and profitable extension of the Nation's foreign trade, will not be likely to be visited upon others who shall zealously devote information acquired by distant travel and long study, and give their time and means, to earnest endeavours to benefit their country by the still onward spread of christianizing peace and civilizing commerce among all the different peoples of the earth.

Protracted illness having much interrupted the drawing up of these introductory observations, we trust that the errors and repetitions observable in them will be overlooked.

RICHARD SPRYE.  
REYNELL. H. F. SPRYE.

SOUTH LODGE, CAMPDEN HILL, W.  
25TH JANUARY, 1866.

# CORRESPONDENCE

BETWEEN

CAPTAIN RICHARD SPRYE

AND

THE RT. HON. WILLIAM-EWART GLADSTONE,

M.P. FOR SOUTH LANCASHIRE,

CHANCELLOR OF H.M.'s EXCHEQUER,

&c., &c., &c.

**"IN THE SENSE OF RIGHT THERE IS GREAT COMFORT. IT MAKES  
THAT ENDURABLE FROM STATE OFFICIALS, WHICH, OFTEN ELSE,  
MIGHT NOT BE BORNE WITH."**

CAPTAIN RICHARD SPRYE,

To

THE RT. HON. WILLIAM-EWART GLADSTONE, M.P.,  
*H.M. Chancellor of the Exchequer.*

SOUTH LODGE, CAMPDEN HILL, W.,  
17th August, 1865.

SIR,

When you last became Chancellor of the Exchequer I was induced to address you on the nationally-important subjects of commercially opening the West of China Proper from our port of Rangoon in the Bay of Bengal, and extending the Indo-European Telegraph from Pegu, by land, to Hong-Kong, the Chinese Open Ports, Peking, etc.

A somewhat close observation of the political careers and official conduct of the more prominent statesmen of our day, caused me then to consider that you were one who, from individual inclination no less than in right fulfilment of ministerial duties, would examine into the merits of any *bona fide* proposition submitted to you for the general benefit of the country through peaceful foreign commerce; and more especially so, when its realization must improve the national exchequer without increasing the still very much too heavy taxation of the people.

I looked also with more confidence to you, Sir, for such official notice of the subject, seeing that you were spoken and written of as the advanced member of a Liberal Cabinet, claiming to be, in an especial degree, admirers and patrons of our national industries and commerce in all their varieties, and professing a laudable anxiety for their continued prosperity through increased trading intercourse with all other countries.

Further, I and my son anticipated, perhaps still more hopefully, your official consideration of our propositions, in as much as distinguished members of the preceding ministry—statesmen represented by their political opponents to be something indifferent, if not hostile, to the manufacturing and trading interests of the country—had done us the favour to examine into the subject, and granted us interviews respecting it. I allude to the late Chancellor of the Exchequer and Secretary of State for India, Mr. Disraeli and Lord Stanley.

The first of these ministers quickly perceived the importance to the

home country, in several points of view, of what we proposed; and in particular as opening a field that would double our supplies of silk, tea, etc., and thereby facilitate a reduction of the import duty on the last article, without diminishing its total yield to the public income; while the extensive new market which the West of China, with the adjacent Shan States and south-eastern portions of Tibet and Tartary, would form for our manufactures—cotton, wollen, and others—must materially assist in keeping our industrial classes in that state of active employment which is ever requisite to a flourishing national exchequer.

At the termination of the first conference with which Mr. Disraeli when Chancellor of the Exchequer honoured me on the subject, he was pleased, voluntarily, to give me an introduction and recommendation to his colleague the then head of the India office, Lord Stanley. This minister was also good enough to receive me and my son with much courtesy; and, after a long conference, in course of which he examined maps and put numerous pertinent questions to us on different points of our propositions, finally admitted, with much frankness, that, novel and bold as they had at first seemed to him, their commercial importance to both India and England, and their general benefit to British Burma, were so manifest, that any communications we might send in to the Government respecting them, should receive his prompt and best attention.

Unfortunately, Sir, for British and Indian commerce with the Shans and inland West of China, and for British Burma, the Reform Bill about that time brought forward by the Earl of Derby's government, proved unsatisfactory to H.M.'s present ministers then sitting in opposition, as falling very far short, in their opinion, of the wants and rights of the people; and a promise by them of a more extended and liberal measure causing a change of the Cabinet, my propositions were deprived of that unprejudiced ministerial consideration which your and Sir Charles Wood's predecessors were, in 1858-59, prepared to have given to them.

Through the several years that have since passed, the successors of the Earl of Derby's Cabinet, though ever proclaiming themselves to be "peace-and-commerce-loving" ministers, have, one and all, as though under some invisible controlling influence, met our continued efforts to advance the propositions, either with open official slight, or with secret hostility; in order, as it appeared to us, using the expression of H.M.'s late minister at Peking, to "choke off" the subject. When addressed by us, the First Lord of the Treasury, yourself—Sir, the President of the Board of Trade, and the Secretaries of State for India and for Foreign Affairs, severally referred us, in the most curt terms official circumlocution

admitted of, to one or other of his colleagues, as being the minister rightly to be troubled: for this, if not plainly expressed, was the official meaning of the replies sent to us regarding, be it remembered, the opening to British and Indian trade of an extensive and variedly-rich portion of interior Asia; inhabited, as the late Earl of Elgin assured me it was, by full two hundred millions of human beings.

During the years 1860-61-62-63 and 64, twenty-six earnest Memorials in favor of the propositions, were sent up to H.M.'s present ministers, from the principal manufacturing, commercial, and shipping associations of the United Kingdoms; including the following eleven Memorials from the large and important constituency of South Lancashire which you, Sir, now represent, viz., from:—

The Liverpool Chamber of Commerce . . . . .	3.
The Liverpool East India and China Association . . . .	3.
The Liverpool Shipowners' Association . . . . .	2.
The Manchester Chamber of Commerce. . . . .	2.
And the Cotton Supply Association . . . . .	1.

All of which, as well as very many others from similar commercial bodies, were replied to, I regret to have to say, by the Premier, the Indian and Foreign Secretaries, and the President of the Board of Trade, either evasively, deceptively, or with official misrepresentation.

As in the cases of opening the overland route across Egypt to India, and of canalising the Isthmus of Suez, this ministerial hostility to the opening of trade with Western China by a short direct route from our port of Rangoon, originated, we have had all reason to consider, in the Foreign office. Having succeeded, by means of successive wars, in planting its minister and consuls in the capital and along the seaboard of China, on the far distant *eastern extremity* of that vast empire; that department appears to have despotically decided for the whole government, against any commercial intercourse being even peaceably established between the Burman ports of *British India* and the very much nearer inland *West* of China; and this, in as utter disregard of the benefits offered to India and England by such a new trade, and of the great good it must do to British Burma, as of the strong desire expressed for it by the Shans, the western Chinese and their immediate neighbours, as well as by the manufacturers, merchants, and shipowners of the United Kingdoms.

The Prime Minister, to whom very many of the Memorials above referred to, had been sent up, and who had made provincial tours to our industrial communities—as you have also done, Sir—to address them in strong praise of mining, manufacturing, shipbuilding, and their result-

ing commerce with other countries ; excused himself from seeing me *on this new trade for our country with 200 millions of people, occupying extensive and rich portions of the earth*, as "being otherwise too occupied:" his lordship, at the same time, granting interviews to persons whose objects were obviously of comparative little importance, in any point of view, to the people either of England or India.

Similarly controlled, I presume, by the erroneous views and opinions of the Foreign office, the now President of the Board of Trade—the minister, whose particular and bounden duty it assuredly is watchfully to foster and peaceably to extend the Nation's commerce in every possible direction the world over, to collect and circulate information of the products, the wants, and the trade of all foreign countries, and to overrule anti-commercial ideas and inclinations in his colleagues—was also "too occupied" to grant me an opportunity of personally satisfying him of the perfect practicability and great advantage of opening the projected commercial way to the myriads of fellow beings occupying the Shan States and the large and fertile western provinces of China Proper, and the countries bounding them on the north and south.

So, Sir, a gentleman standing commercially high in Liverpool, one who I was justified in considering to possess the requisite influence even with you in such a matter, after speaking to you on the subject, and submitting to you one of my private pamphlets regarding it, led me to understand that you, also, were disinclined to give the propositions consideration, much less to see and hear me regarding them.

Consequently, two years or more later, when you adopted that reduction of taxation which included half the duty on tea, you had to give up this much of the revenue, without having first *made possible even* such an increased supply and consumption of the article as could alone compensate to the revenue ; which increased supply a *previous* commercial opening of the West of China, direct from Rangoon, would have abundantly secured, and of a quality far superior to very much of the tea now shipped from the Chinese ports ; which, having been already once used by the Chinese, is by them very skilfully re-dried and made up to supply the English demand To have accomplished such but proper and prudent opening of a new tea field, preliminary to a reduction of the duty, only required, Sir, that, on your last assumption of office, you should individually have examined our proposals, with that laudable independent judgment and ministerial action in regard to them, which you are reputed to have displayed, even towards the highest and publicly most esteemed of your colleagues, in those, to England and



India, much less important matters—the Suez Canal, and Ionian Isles costly and unsatisfactory protectorate.

The adverse course thus hitherto taken by H.M.'s. present ministers in the great manufacturing and commercial question respecting which I again trouble you, has been further prejudicial to the country, Sir; in as much as that, India not having for her increased production of opium the additional market which would be found in the West of China, where a very inferior and pernicious drug is largely made for Chinese consumption; and the opium trade with the seaboard of China having its limit, and being in the hands of a few English firms; the price of the drug was so much lowered last year in the Calcutta market, as to induce the late Chancellor of the Indian Exchequer, with a view to raising its price, to curtail its manufacture by throwing poppy plantations out of cultivation; and at the same time, in order to cover the immediate deficiency of income, to impose export duties on Indian products shipped to England; the countermand by the Secretary of State for India of which very erroneous measure, has made a loan imperatively necessary, it is considered, to enable the Indian Treasury to meet the year's expenditure.

Further, Sir, while you and your ministerial colleagues have for years refused to permit a direct commercial way to be opened from Rangoon to the Shans and the Chinese western frontier, by which Indian products and British goods should be taken to the inland half of China proper, and tea, silk, and other valuable articles needful to England, be brought from that country; the French have been systematically and resolutely advancing from their more distant and new Cochin-Chinese acquisition, or "French East Indies" as it is now imperially designated, up the several valleys of the great Kamboja river, to the Shan States and the Chinese south-western frontier; there to secure, in exchange for their supply to them of European and Indian articles, to the exclusion of the merchants of England and India, all the valuable products which are to be drawn from those virgin commercial fields; fields for new and extensive trade which have been, for several years, nearer by many hundreds of miles to the north-east frontier of our non-paying and costly Burman seacoast provinces: these provinces *still continuing to be non-paying and costly to the Indian Treasury*, solely from the want of that adequate inland or back trade which the Shan States and West of China can alone give them.

To avoid, if possible, a continued public agitation of this question against H.M.'s. Government, and to give ministers grounds for reviewing and altering their hitherto course in regard to it, we sent in a further official representation to the Secretary of State for India in council, on

the 29th of April last, accompanied with three clearly explanatory maps. That letter not only freely reviewed the manner in which the question has been thus far treated by the present Government, but frankly and fully examined our propositions in their several different bearings on British-Burma, India, and the Home country, commercially, financially, and politically; as well as in naval and military points of view, should war be again brought about with China, or arise between England and either of those naval powers,—America, France, or Russia, singly or combined.

In this last point of view, we called attention to the now very formidable positions held by the FRENCH in Cochin-China, along the north of the Chinese Sea, midway between Singapore and Hong-Kong; by the RUSSIANS, on the western coasts of the Pacific and of the Sea of Japan, whence they already threaten to extend down the east coast of Corea; and by the AMERICANS, on the eastern shores of the Pacific; all naval positions, with extensive and strongly-fortified arsenals, far distant from those of England, overhanging equally the Seas of China, Japan, and the Pacific, and together commanding the entire ocean trade of Eastern Asia, beyond Singapore. In the letter under reference, we also reviewed, in much detail, the progress of Russia openly bearing down on the whole north-east inland of China; and of France more stealthily working up to her south-west inland frontier. I will, therefore, here only notice the progress of the United States of America in the same direction, by observing that, previous to the now happily terminated civil war between the Northern and Southern States, the States west of the Mississippi showed themselves actively alive to the importance of acquiring *command of* the trade of Japan, China, and India. The governor of the State of Missouri, in an address to its General Assembly, very earnestly urged on them the extension of their railways westward, across the Rocky Mountains to the Pacific; and, after offering other reasons why their very best energies should be devoted to this, he observed to them:—

“ But there is an additional incentive, greater than all the rest, which  
 “ urges Missouri to active exertions in the construction of her westward  
 “ RAILROADS. The great highway of Nations to the Pacific Ocean must  
 “ have starting points from our State; and every consideration of na-  
 “ tional policy demands our immediate construction of these RAILROADS.  
 “ It is a work for the people; one in which all have deep interest, and to  
 “ which all should, therefore, contribute to give immediate action. OUR  
 “ RAILS TO THE PACIFIC WILL BE RAILS TO JAPAN, CHINA, AND INDIA.  
 “ They will bring us into immediate close commercial contact with up-  
 “ wards of six hundred millions of people, occupying the most favoured

“ *regions of the earth*; who will be glad, in exchange for their valuable products, to receive our goods. Let those westward RAILROADS, then, be forthwith constructed, and our merchandise will reach those rich Asiatic countries in a few days, in all safety and certainty; abandoning for ever the long, tedious, and dangerous route, over more than thirty thousand miles of perilous ocean, round the Cape of Good Hope, through the Straits of Sunda, and up the Sea of China.”

About the same period, Sir, the Governor of the State of Arkansas, in his opening address to the General Assembly, offered to its consideration the following observations on the importance of their also constructing railways bearing towards China:—

“ This mighty element of prosperity, RAILWAYS, is working wonders all around us; and the time is at hand when OUR STATE must lay hold of that great lever of commerce, wealth, and power. We occupy a central position in the Union, midway between the Lakes of Canada and the Gulf of Mexico, the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans; and directly on the route from the densely-populated States on the Atlantic coast, from which a constant tide of westward emigration now flows to our possessions and ports on the Pacific coast.

“ The thousands of miles which separate those two ocean extremities of our Union must be annihilated, as they can be, by the construction of IRONROADS westward from the Mississippi to our seaboard facing Asia.

“ While St. Louis and New Orleans are leaving no stone unturned, no exertion untried, and no necessary amount of money unexpended, to secure the benefits which must result from RAILWAYS to the Pacific, Arkansas must also construct HER IRON HIGHWAY from ocean to ocean; to hold in its embrace this mighty continent, teeming with natural wealth, capabilities, increasing population, and advancing improvements; and to command, from the ports of its two ocean extremities, the interchanging commerce of Europe and Asia.”

So the *San-Francisco Journal*, writing some time back on the same subject, thus observed:—

“ Then will be realized the dream of the importance of our inland sea as one of the western termini of the great IRON HIGHWAYS from the Atlantic to the Pacific. For it is a conceded point that the Pacific coast *must command the trade of the vast and populous regions of Japan, Corea, China, and the Asiatic Archipelago, to the Bay of Bengal*; which trade has ever been to nations the great prize and source of prosperity, in ancient as in modern times.

“ Persia, Assyria, Carthage, and Rome, of old swayed the world as

“ they controlled the rich commerce of Asia. After them, Venice, “ Genoa, Lisbon, Amsterdam, and London, each in its turn, obtained “ commercial supremacy as it made itself the carrier and disposer of “ eastern luxuries to the western world.

“ To this grand inheritance the Pacific Coast of THE-UNITED-STATES “ *is not to succeed* : and those points of it whose good ports will bring “ to them the termini of our rails from the Atlantic. As yet we have “ but two leading claimants for this proud distinction—the fine Ports of “ San-Francisco and Puget’s-Sound. It may to some seem absurd for us “ to think of placing the latter in competition with our ‘ Mistress of the “ Golden Gate ;’ but it is evident that PORT TOWNSEND must, from its “ position and excellence, ultimately command a large portion of the “ vast future trade, across the STATES, of the Atlantic and Europe with “ the Asiatic marts of Siberia, Jeddo, Shanghai, Canton, Manilla, Bankok, “ Singapore, and Calcutta.”

Now, Sir, I and my son have been led to understand that the ministers of despotic Russia or France, or of republican America, nay—even their sovereigns and president, would give ready audience to men who could bring to them the personal knowledge and acquired geographical, commercial, political, and military information which we have during many years assiduously collected of the countries and peoples of Eastern Asia; and who could submit to them suggestions therefrom for the advantageous and secure peaceable extension of *their* commerce and influence in that quarter of the globe. Can we then, think you, feel it other than humiliating—desiring and striving through the years we have done to make our acquired knowledge of service to our own country, through men claiming to be large and liberal-minded ministers of a “ constitutional monarchy ” and of a people essentially commercial, to have our propositions left by them, year after year, to lie in “ the cold shade of a ruling aristocracy ” without consideration, our communications officially “ shelved,” and ourselves discourteously “ snubbed,” solely from the want of social or political influence sufficient *to command* a different reception. And this, too, by men professing to conduct the national government on principles free from the family and party exclusiveness they have always charged against their political opponents when in power ? Not in regard to ourselves, but in regard to numerous others more capable of rendering good service to their country, who are similarly neglected by those whose pride it should be, as it is their duty, to encourage and advance the views of such men, do we bring this official exclusiveness to *your* notice as being worthy of your consideration ; for it is a family patronage system

which the best interests of Her Majesty's Empire at large require should in these days be greatly abated, if it cannot be wholly done away with.

The letter to the Secretary of State for India in council, which has caused me once again to intrude upon you, Sir, further noticed—and I presume to think satisfactorily—the several objections, real and fictitious, that have come to my knowledge as having been offered, under official and private influences, to our propositions; either in this country or in India. And as it contained, also, much regarding the commerce of inland Eastern Asia, bearing on the foreign trade of England and on the Home revenue, which last so very greatly depends upon *that* trade's continued sustension and *extension*, I felt particularly desirous that you, as Chancellor of H.M.'s Exchequer, should have opportunity of perusing the document; and, therefore, requested the Secretary of State for India to do me the favour of causing a copy to be transmitted to you; seeing that it was too voluminous for me to have M.S. copies made of it, even for ministers.

Since then, Sir, you have been returned to Parliament for the very important *manufacturing, shipping, and commercial constituency* of South Lancashire; a constituency exceeding twenty thousand votes, representing two millions of the Kingdom's population: a change in your parliamentary position which makes it still more desirable, in my opinion, that you should have opportunity of considering at least the commercial statements and information so submitted by me to the Indian Secretary of State and his council; those statements and that information being such as you cannot, I imagine, already possess, or acquire from other sources. If, therefore, as I have reason to think probable, a copy has not yet been received by you, allow me to suggest that you cause application to be now made to the India office for one. Because, also, Sir, though it was officially intimated to me from that office, on the 30th of June past, that the letter in question, with a subsequent one from me dated the 12th of May 1865, were "under the consideration of Her Majesty's Government," I am doubtful whether this expression included the cabinet ministers generally, or only one or two of them—the Indian and Foreign Secretaries of State for instance, or perhaps their subordinates only; and not yourself and the President of the Board of Trade, the two ministers who must be the most competent of the cabinet to form a correct opinion on so large a commercial and financial question; the every principle of which is "peace and good-will" towards, and friendly trade with, our fellow men of every country and clime.

It is satisfactory to me to be able to state in conclusion, that the leading public journals of England and India, advocates of every

different shade of politics, including the *Times*; *Morning Herald*; *Globe*; *Citizen*; *Standard*; *London and China Telegraph*; *Leeds Mercury*; *Manchester Guardian*, and *Daily Examiner and Times*; *Liverpool Albion, Daily Courier, and Mercury*; *Glasgow Examiner, Herald, and North British Daily Mail*; *Caledonian Mercury*; *Bradford Observer*; *Stockport Advertiser*; *Bristol Mercury*; *Halifax Courier and Guardian*; *Sheffield and Rotherham Independent*; *Huddersfield Chronicle*; *Exeter Western Times*; *Cork Daily Reporter*; *Devonport and Plymouth Telegraph*; *Bengal Hurkaru, Friend of India, and Englishman*; *Bombay Gazette*; *Rangoon Gazette*; &c., &c., &c., have, during several years past, warmly advocated our proposals, and strongly recommended their adoption. Some of their articles we have reprinted and circulated in occasional separate sheets; of the earlier numbers of which we forwarded copies to the different ministers and their principal subordinates, until the too manifest indifference of the majority of them to the subject showed us the uselessness of so doing. For your perusal, however, Sir, if you should be now so inclined, I attach to this letter, copies of the latest five of those sheets, Nos. 13 to 17. No. 18 is in the press, and between this and the meeting of Parliament, will be followed by still others, and with further pamphlets on the subject; copies of all of which shall be forwarded to you as they appear, should I be so far encouraged by you.

I have the honour to remain,

SIR, for self and son,

Your humble servant,

RICHARD SPRYE.

THE RT. HON. WILLIAM-EWART GLADSTONE, M.P.,  
*H. M.'s Chancellor of the Exchequer,*  
To  
CAPTAIN RICHARD SPRYE

11, DOWNING STREET, WHITEHALL,  
21st August, 1865.

SIR,

I am instructed by the Chancellor of the Exchequer to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 17th instant; and I am to inform you that he fears he cannot agree with you in your views of the duty of the Treasury.

It is not, according to all he has ever learnt of it, appointed for the purpose of lending a ready ear to schemes, purporting to be, and often being, schemes of public improvement and advantage; but it is to control the necessary expenditure of the country, when proposed to it by the proper authorities: and Mr. Gladstone, for one, will always look with jealousy upon any disposition on the part of the Treasury to become—except in cases of clear and strong necessity, and of a character quite exceptional—a spending department.

In the present instance, it appears to Mr. Gladstone that the question, whether such a project as that proposed is fit to be entertained by Her Majesty's Government, would be best considered, in the first instance, by other departments; and, in the event of their considering it to be their duty to make any recommendation involving public expenditure—whether with or without immediate return—it would then be the duty of the Treasury to examine strictly into the grounds for such a recommendation.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer has thought it fitting to lay before you these explanations, in order that you may see that he is not influenced by indolence or indifference, but by a desire to keep himself to his proper duties.

I am, SIR,

Your obedient servant,

WM. B. GURDON.

CAPTAIN RICHARD SPRYE,

To

THE RT. HON. WILLIAM-EWART GLADSTONE, M.P.,  
*H.M.'s Chancellor of the Exchequer.*

SOUTH LODGE, CAMPDEN HILL, W.,

2nd September 1865.

SIR,

I received some days since in the country the letter which your secretary wrote to me, under your instructions, on the 21st ultimo, in acknowledgement of the one I had the honor to address to you on the 17th of August.

Mr. Gurdon's communication commences with informing me,—“That you cannot agree with me in my view of the duty of the Treasury. That, according to all you have ever learnt of it, it is not appointed for the purpose of lending a ready ear to schemes, purporting to be, and often being, schemes of public improvement and advantage; but to control the necessary expenditure of the country, when proposed to it by the proper authorities: etc.” And, in reference to your not now noticing the great national question of commercially opening the Shan States and inland West of China proper to British merchants, your secretary concludes his letter to me by stating,—“That you are not influenced by indolence or indifference, but by a desire to keep yourself to your proper duties.”

In expressing myself to you, Sir, with the freedom I took the liberty of using in my previous letter, I did not consider that I was addressing H.M.'s Treasury, or, perhaps, even so much a member of that Board, as an influential Member of Parliament for the great manufacturing, shipping, and commercial constituency of South Lancashire. Not having enjoyed the advantage of being educated for parliamentary and administrative duties, or had the greater benefit of practical training therein, it may be excusable in me not to know with official accuracy what are, precisely, the right duties of each one of H.M.'s different Ministers who are together entrusted with the government of Her Empire, throughout its widely-scattered divisions, and in regard to their several interests. But you, Sir, must surely feel, and will admit, that you owe duties also to that very



leading constituency of the United Kingdoms which now gives you a seat in the legislature, enabling you to hold so very commandingly, and as deservedly, the prominent position you occupy in the existing Government.

In reference to *these* duties, permit me to repeat to you that *your present constituents* have sent up to the Head of the Government no fewer than nine earnest Memorials, calling the attention of H.M.'s Ministers to the propositions I seek your notice of. Are the so expressed wishes, desires—nay, requirements—of such a constituency to be disregarded by its representative, and their interests to be thereby sacrificed, because he is a minister? Far better for his electors that he was without office; or that, representing such nominal constituencies as Morpeth, Ripon, Calne, or their like, he left a real constituency, exceeding 21,000 votes in behalf of two millions of fellow subjects, free to send up to the House one who would not permit his duty to them to be overruled by a sense of the superior claims of office. And does not your theory hereon, Sir, very strongly support that extreme reform proposition which provides,—that Ministers should represent *no* constituencies, but have legislative seats in virtue of their offices, without votes? It seems to me wrongly to do so.

Apart, however, from this view of the case, I considered, Sir, though erroneously according to your secretary's intimation, that it devolves upon a Chancellor of the Exchequer, not only "to control the necessary expenditure of the country,"—which, alas, you have more than once, as Chancellor, and without resigning the office, publicly proclaimed your inability to control,—but *to provide for* that expenditure; and, in performance of this part of his duty, to look about for, and to avail himself of, every opportunity the course of the world's progress should offer, *peacefully to extend the Nation's foreign trade*. This with a view, not merely to the commercial advantages of the country, and the material benefit of its people generally, but as promoting also that wholesome *improvement of the public revenue* which proceeds from the people's continued prosperous employment; such employment being the only sure foundation for progress in the consuming power of the country, as this is the only safe foundation for a national income.

In this last point of view, I imagined that a Chancellor of the Exchequer of our day, representing the largest, the most wealthy, and the most enterprising manufacturing and commercial division of the kingdom, would feel doubly gratified to have his attention called to a new Asiatic field for British commerce; a field, too, exceeding millions of square miles in extent, yielding in abundance a great variety of valuable commercial products necessary to our country, and sustaining

full two hundred millions of people—as the late Earl of Elgin assured me the seven western provinces of China did, all awaiting the opening of a “Way” by which for our merchants to exchange with them for such the needed products of their soil, the multifarious goods of our daily-increasing and improving manufactures; the principal gate of entrance to them—the upper Kamboja river, along the south-west Chinese frontier—being only 250 miles, or about ten hours of ordinary railway travelling, from British territory; and this across most friendly States, tributary to a Sovereign with whom we have always been in amity, with whom we have commercial treaty relations, and who very anxiously desires direct diplomatic relations with our Queen.

It would, indeed, be presumptuous for me, the more active part of whose life was spent in military service in far distant lands, to discuss a minister’s duties with you, Sir. Nevertheless, in reference to the dictum you lay down to me by the pen of your secretary, as to the precise and very limited nature of a Chancellor of the Exchequer’s duties, I would be permitted to quote to you a paragraph from that my letter of the 29th of April last to the Secretary of State for India in council; which, in connection with your return to Parliament for South Lancashire, caused me to intrude upon you, with something of revived hope for the Nation’s commercial interests, my letter of the 17th ultimo, written in the joint names of myself and son. The paragraph was as follows:—

“ 178. In what we have thus far offered to the consideration of  
 “ yourself and council, Sir, we have deemed ourselves addressing the  
 “ ruling power of India, and have treated of the advantages that eastern  
 “ portion of Her Majesty’s Empire must, in particular, derive from the  
 “ realisation of our projects, rather than of the benefits the Home coun-  
 “ try would also receive therefrom, beyond the gratifying knowledge  
 “ that India was rightly progressing in peace, and following, for her own  
 “ material improvement, the laudable, profitable, and civilising pursuits  
 “ of cultivation and commerce. But, as no individual member of a  
 “ government, however isolated may be the one department specially  
 “ entrusted to his control, is justified in narrowing his ministerial mind  
 “ and care to that department only; as each able self-relying member  
 “ of an administration will, in addition to all requisite attention to the  
 “ duties of his particular office, give thought also to the general duty of  
 “ the government as a whole, in every quarter of the world where it has  
 “ duties; and, to the extent of his ability and influence, promote in each  
 “ part of the empire whatever is for its benefit and that of the entire  
 “ governed body; we will now briefly press upon your consideration,

"additional to what we have offered in greater detail regarding India and British Burma, the great advantages the adoption of our propositions must also, in certainty, CONFER UPON THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED KINGDOMS, AND UPON THE HOME GOVERNMENT."

Now, Sir, however correct may be the official description in your secretary's letter to me, of the special duties of one filling the ministerial office you do, I cannot consider the opinion so expressed by me and my son to the Secretary of State for India in council, of the more extended and general duty of each member of the cabinet, to be wholly unsound. And as the tone of Mr. Gurdon's communication leads me to infer that, in the present case at least, you will not depart from those your ideas of the strictly departmental, by applying to your colleague the Indian Secretary for a copy of that our letter to him; I will take this opportunity to submit for your perusal a few of its other paragraphs, which were penned under the belief that, peacefully to extend the commerce of the country to two hundred millions of new customers, could not be deemed by any English minister a mere "private scheme," to be disregarded as an unjustifiable intrusion upon him in his ministerial character; but a PUBLIC—nay, IMPERIAL—proposition, ENTITLED to the earnest and most favourable consideration of EACH member of the government having capacity to comprehend its great future importance to every class of Her Majesty's subjects. This opinion, Sir, was more particularly entertained by us of *that* minister whose special duty it is to devise and arrange the Nations' taxation,—who has more than once publicly denounced its present extravagant, if not profligate, character, in directions which, so far from being in any way *reproductive*, "only require the more the more they are fed on,"—who has commendably cried aloud, even to Parliament, for its enforced reduction,—and who, as conducive thereto, invoked the practice of honourable peace with the pursuit of honest commerce, in the earnest manner you, Sir, have so laudably done in very many of your brilliant public orations within and without the walls of parliament. Those further passages of our letter of the 29th of April last to the Secretary of State for India in council, ran thus:—

"208. If it be admitted that, as the best means of preserving India to our Empire, the first principle of our rule there should be to shew its superiority, in every branch, over that of her native sovereigns,—to promote the social improvement and material well-doing of her people, of whatever race or caste,—and, without oppressing them, to maintain a prosperous public exchequer,—then, is not it, Sir, undeniably the duty of the Minister of State and Council appointed to

“ direct her government, peaceably to secure to her the advantages of  
 “ commercial intercourse with other countries ; especially with those  
 “ which are her close neighbours, and the people of which are ready to  
 “ take the products of India, as well as those of England, paying for them  
 “ with others of their own climes, such as, if not needful to India, *are*  
 “ necessary to the Home country ? To us, Sir, this appears to be the  
 “ duty to the people of every part of British India, of the supreme  
 “ governing body placed by this country over that distant and *wholly*  
 “ *unrepresented* portion of Her Majesty’s Empire. And this the more,  
 “ when such promotion of the prosperity of our Indian fellow subjects,  
 “ through peace and commerce, must bring to THE GOVERNMENT of  
 “ India those still greater advantages which, as in previous parts of this  
 “ letter we have so amply shewn, cannot fail to result from overland trade  
 “ with the Shan States and inland West of China, by a direct railway  
 “ from the port of Rangoon to the upper Kamboja or Meikong river.

“ 209. And as the benefit therefrom to the manufacturers, mer-  
 “ chants, ship-owners, and the industrial classes generally, of the United  
 “ Kingdoms, must also prove immense ; and this would be, similarly,  
 “ very beneficially reflected upon our national treasury ; we consider  
 “ that the Chancellor of the Exchequer and the President of the Board  
 “ of Trade are bound to exert, in conjunction with you, Sir, *their* minis-  
 “ terial influence to effect the now early opening of the commerce in  
 “ question, so long discreditably and unaccountably neglected.

“ 210. Against an earnest and resolute call for it from such three  
 “ members of the Cabinet, even should they be unsupported by others  
 “ thereof, the mere departmental jealousies and objections of the Foreign  
 “ office will be necessitated to give way ; however opposed some of its  
 “ subordinates may be thereto, and even though there be truth in their  
 “ boast—that the Foreign office knows no controlling authority, not that  
 “ even of an Act of Parliament. An Envoy of becoming rank and position,  
 “ sent direct from our Queen, instructed by you, Sir, to the King of Ava ;  
 “ and H.M.’s Minister at Peking being plainly and honestly instructed  
 “ accordingly ; no “ insurmountable objection,” or difficulty, will remain  
 “ in the way of satisfactorily establishing that much-desired new trade,  
 “ and of extending the Indo-European Telegraph from Pegu, by land,  
 “ to Hong-Kong, the Chinese Treaty Ports, Peking, etc.

\* \* \* \* \*

“ 212. That we have devoted many years in the East and at home,  
 “ to the collection and study of everything bearing on these projects,  
 “ and that we have continuously advocated them, through good report

“ and evil report, must be well known to you, Sir, and to the Council of  
 “ India; and you and the Council may well infer that, additional to the  
 “ unceasing labor, we have therein disbursed no little of money: whether  
 “ prudently, or not, in the opinion of others, yet, always in our own  
 “ belief, for the public good of both India and England. Should you  
 “ consider that we have done this *imprudently*, we offer the excuse of  
 “ having been, at the time we entered upon the work, in perfect igno-  
 “ rance of the systems and workings of our governing state departments.  
 “ We then erroneously imagined that a *bonâ fide* practical proposition,  
 “ peacefully, largely, and very beneficially to extend the foreign com-  
 “ merce of England and India, to benefit thereby their peoples, and at  
 “ the same time to improve their public revenues, would be received by  
 “ English ministers of each department of state as such propositions are  
 “ received by the ministers of even despotic governments, with warm  
 “ approval and effective encouragement; and especially so,—when, in a  
 “ period of general cessation from war, the expenditure of the state on war  
 “ establishments had attained the unjustifiable amount to which that of  
 “ England has now, during many years of peace, extended,—when the  
 “ treasury of India is in the struggling state of deficiency it is,—and  
 “ when, in British Burma, the excess of public expenditure over income,  
 “ *all charges included*, has annually been the very large sum it has  
 “ through the long period since any of that portion of the east was  
 “ brought by costly conquest under our rule; viz., in 1826.

\* \* \* \* \*

“ 219. In pars. 209 and 210 we express the opinion that, in virtue  
 “ of their ministerial offices, it is in particular the duty of the Chancellor  
 “ of the Exchequer and the President of the Board of Trade, to co-operate  
 “ with you, Sir, to any extent necessary to realise this peace and trade-pro-  
 “ moting railway and telegraphic junction between British India and  
 “ the Chinese Empire; and we there state that, if those two members of  
 “ the cabinet and yourself display that earnestness in the matter which  
 “ a thorough observance of right duties will justify, the hostility of the  
 “ Foreign Secretary must prove powerless, however he may be prompted  
 “ by the routine permanents of his department, or supported by less  
 “ enlightened members of the cabinet.

“ 220. An attentive observance of the parliamentary and official  
 “ career of the present Chancellor of the Exchequer—of his conduct  
 “ rather than his speeches, sound and earnest as these commonly are—  
 “ has created in us a strong belief that *he is* a Minister of State desirous  
 “ of searching after, and acting for, the general public good; and above

“ being influenced contrary thereto by the less clear perceptions and more  
 “ limited views of those who were ministers or officials years before he  
 “ entered upon the duties and responsibilities of office. His course thus  
 “ far as Finance Minister, has shown him to be officially independent,  
 “ outspoken, and self-relying ; and from his many speeches having  
 “ reference to the public income, or to its main source—our industries  
 “ and commerce, we could quote to you passages even to the extent  
 “ this letter has attained, all shewing that, in urging upon you in the  
 “ persevering manner we do, the two commercial propositions we have  
 “ had so long at heart as certain very greatly and permanently to benefit  
 “ the people of England, of India, and of British Burma, and also the  
 “ English and Indian governments, we but act up to the principles and  
 “ views of your eminent fellow minister, Mr. Gladstone. We will limit  
 “ ourselves, however, to a single quotation from his most recent speech in  
 “ the House of Commons, the one he delivered on Thursday evening last,  
 “ the 27th of April 1865, introducing his budget for 1865-66. In allu-  
 “ sion to RAILWAYS and to their services in developing commerce, adding  
 “ to national wealth, and increasing the people’s comforts—the truth of  
 “ which must be known to even the blind of our day, excepting only  
 “ such diplomatists as Sir Frederick Bruce—the Chancellor of the Ex-  
 “ chequer then said :—

“ ‘ Upon the whole, I come to the conclusion that we have indeed  
 “ ‘ derived enormous advantages, almost boundless ones, from the inven-  
 “ ‘ tive and enterprising spirit which has distinguished the mechanism  
 “ ‘ of the present age, and from the application of new principles and  
 “ ‘ methods of locomotion, both by sea and land. I believe that our  
 “ ‘ RAILWAY companies receive from the public for the services they per-  
 “ ‘ form, thirty millions sterling a year ; and I think it will be a moderate  
 “ ‘ estimate to say that *a further sum of thirty millions sterling* is the sure  
 “ ‘ annual addition those RAILWAYS have made to the *wealth of the country* ;  
 “ ‘ even after allowing for capital invested in other forms of locomotion,  
 “ ‘ which have been partially or wholly succeeded by railways. (Cheers.)  
 “ ‘ It is no small honour that, as with regard to locomotion, so in regard  
 “ ‘ to the freedom and promotion of *commerce*, it has been given to  
 “ ‘ England to lead the vanguard of civilization, and in the words of our  
 “ ‘ own poet :—

“ ‘ To serve as model for the mighty world,

“ ‘ And be the fair beginning of the times ; (Cheers.)

“ ‘ and of a time richly fraught, not only with economical advantages,  
 “ ‘ not only with results that can be exhibited in statistic tables, but

“ ‘ more richly fraught with results that tend to the union of class with  
 “ ‘ class, and even, as we may hope, *the union of Nation with Nation,*  
 “ ‘ *throughout the wide world.*’ ” (Cheers).’ ”

Those *your* proclaimed sentiments, Sir, equally become you as one of the master minds of our age, as one born and nurtured in the home and circle of commerce, as a popular representative of South Lancashire—for even those of that great constituency who are opposed to you in politics are proud of your having had birth among them—and as England's Chancellor of the Exchequer in the year of progress, 1865. They are sentiments, however, quite as applicable to the Indian as to the Home portion of H. M.'s Empire; and very far more applicable to the British Burman division of the former, in reference to commercial intercourse, by railway, between it and the Shans and the inland west of China. And I will not permit myself to think that you expressed such sentiments to the Commons of England in Parliament assembled, and received their repeated applauses thereon, intending them to bear no fruit, but to remain, as too often do the speeches of official men—*vox et præterea nihil*.

Several months, Sir, before you uttered those opinions on the great national advantages of railways, the Finance Member of the Indian Government—Sir C. E. Trevelyan, in a minute which he recorded in council, at Simla, on the 9th of August 1864, advocating the construction of railways in British Burma and Burma proper, thus wrote no less forcibly in their favour:—

“ RAILWAYS have become necessary to meet the requirements of modern trade, and although some difficulties may attend their first construction, nothing can be better calculated to promote a mutually beneficial intercourse with the people of semi-barbarous countries, to introduce to them the knowledge and habits which belong to civilisation, and in the end to prevent that friction and collision which is commonly apprehended between civilised and uncivilised neighbours.

“ It has been proved by the experience of the Indus and other rivers, in both hemispheres, that the facilities afforded to inland trade by river steamers are not to be compared with those offered by railways; and hence the proposal to construct a railway in Burma.

“ If the Burman Government is properly encouraged and assisted by us, there is every hope that its policy will take a permanent commercial course, which will be our best security for the continuance of peace; as the construction of a railway there will, in event of war, be our most effectual instrument for carrying it on.”

These the officially recorded opinions of that experienced member of

the Indian service may, possibly, help to attract to the subject that investigation which I have always desired it should receive from you, Sir, in particular: seeing, too, that Sir Charles Trevelyan's sentiments are fully supported by Mr. Danvers, the able Government Director of the Indian Railway Companies, who, in his Report on Railways in India for the year 1864-65, quite as truthfully observes:—

“Although it may be some time before the Government will receive back the guaranteed interest paid in excess of the net profits, there is enough in the present condition of the lines to encourage the hope that it ultimately *will* be paid. In the mean time, the State obtains, both directly and indirectly, a return which fully compensates for the liability which it has incurred. In the form of direct gains may be reckoned the free conveyance of the mails, a great reduction in the cost of moving troops and public stores, and an increased revenue from salt; while the indirect benefits are incalculable, whether we regard as such the greater security to the country which railways afford, the impulse they give to commerce and agriculture, or the extent to which they promote national prosperity and individual comfort.”

In the concluding Summary of the same admirable Report, Mr. Danvers states these further interesting and very encouraging facts: viz.,

“The materials which have been already sent out from England to aid the construction of the Indian lines, amount to 2,000,000 tons, upon which £16,500,000 has been expended. [*In England, of course.*]

“The number of passengers conveyed in 1862-63, were 9,244,540, which increased to 11,781,683, in the last year. [*Increase 2,537,143.*]

“The amount received from passengers in the year ending the 30th of June 1863, was £682,343, while for the year ending 30th of June 1864, it was £981,948. [*Increase £299,605.*]

“The amount received for the conveyance of goods in 1862-63 was £948,324, and in 1863-64, £1,406,963. [*Increase £458,639.*]

“The net profits in the year 1862-63 amounted to £690,834, and in 1863-64 to £947,320. [*Increase £256,486.*]

“It should be borne in mind,” Mr. Danvers very properly adds, “that the results here given are obtained from Lines either not yet, or only just, completed. If the traffic be properly conducted, and if economy prevail in the various departments connected with the working and maintenance of the Lines, the results will be very satisfactory. But whether, as commercial undertakings, their success is great or moderate, no country in the world will, either directly or indirectly, derive greater advantages from RAILWAYS than INDIA.”



The railways so reported on by Mr. Danvers, comprise, Sir, 4,917 miles of single Lines, estimated to cost £77,500,000, which is at the rate of from £15,000 to £16,000 per mile; and are all in the part of India lying *north* and *west* of the Bay of Bengal: viz., in the presidencies of Bengal, Madras, and Bombay, in the north-west Provinces, Oude, the Punjab, Scinde, &c.; while on the *west* side of the Bay: viz., in British Burma, not a rail has yet been laid, nor survey made of a mile of country for one! Yet, in no part of British India can a railway prove more beneficial than it would there prove, whether as regards the country itself, the people thereof, or its government. A cheap single Line—for the construction of which all the requisite material, save only the rails and ironwork, is abundant—having the unrivalled river port of Rangoon for its ocean terminus, and the navigable Upper Kamboja or Meikong river, along the south-west frontier of the Chinese Province of Yunan, for its inland terminus, could not fail also to be, as I have before stated, of incalculable immediate and permanent benefit to India, to England, and to their respective governments, as well as to British Burma. But unfortunately for that, if rightly governed, very valuable portion of H.M.'s Indian Empire, British Burma has been friendless among those railway influences and Indian officials by whom Indian Lines have been thus far advocated and sanctioned. And feeling that she is likely to be by them continuously neglected, she now appeals, in the earnest manner she does, to the independent manufacturing, shipping and commercial interests of the United Kingdoms, to see railway justice, at least, done to her; since the one Line she desires, will open to *them also* the productive and populous Shan States and western provinces of China Proper. It is to solicit your powerful aid herein, as representing in Parliament a great and influential portion of those Home industrial interests, that I have again intruded the matter on you as I have now done, Sir. Whether for a successful result, or not, remains exclusively for your consideration and decision.

At any rate, in thus once more bringing to your individual notice, as representing the great manufacturing and commercial constituency you now do, and during the leisure of a recess, this *truly imperial* though commercial project—to the advocacy of which, from a thorough conviction of its importance to the future prosperity of India and England, I and my son, its originators, have so long devoted ourselves to the extent of our ability and means—I do *my* duty to the cause, so far as my non-official position will permit; and to yourself also, Sir, in regard to it, in reference to your now parliamentary position. And having thus done, I will not despair of your ere long giving some small portion of your official time to an in-

dependent consideration of the question, as one of general interest and large promise to the people and governments of both England and India.

The peaceful establishment of direct trade with the Shans and the West of China proper, by railway from Rangoon, is at present within your easy power, will be for you an administrative triumph free from all party conflict, and one in every respect worthy your achieving; a measure, also, of right and enlightened commercial progress, most acceptable to all the manufacturing, shipping, and mercantile interests of the country; and such as will, in some degree, atone to England, to India, to British Burma, to Burma proper, and to China, for the lives and treasure sacrificed by each in those Burman and Chinese wars which you, and some of your cabinet colleagues, so justly and sternly condemned, when in Parliamentary opposition.

I have the honour to remain,  
SIR, for self and son,  
Your humble servant,  
RICHARD SPRYE.

CAPTAIN RICHARD SPRYE

To

THE RT. HON. WILLIAM-EWART GLADSTONE, M.P.,  
*H.M.'s Chancellor of the Exchequer.*

SOUTH LODGE, CAMPDEN HILL, W.,  
5th September, 1865.

SIR,

Having omitted to attach to my letter to you of the 2nd instant a copy of our circular sheet No. 18, on the subject that letter treated of, I do myself the honour to forward one, in continuation of those attached to my previous letter to you of the 17th ultimo.

I take the liberty to add that a perusal of it cannot, I think, fail to give you desirable information of an important portion of our Indian empire, of which English ministers and officials do not, I fancy, possess either too much or too accurate information.

I have the honour to remain,  
SIR, for self and son,  
Your humble servant,  
RICHARD SPRYE.

THE RT. HON. WILLIAM-EWART GLADSTONE, M.P.,  
*H.M.'s Chancellor of the Exchequer,*  
To  
CAPTAIN RICHARD SPRYE.

11, DOWNING STREET, WHITEHALL,  
6th September, 1865.

SIR,

I am directed by the Chancellor of the Exchequer to acknowledge the receipt of your communications of the 2nd and 5th instant; and I am to state that, even had the correspondence come from a constituent, Mr. Gladstone's duty to the portion of the community which he has the honour to represent, must still be controlled by his duty as a Minister of the Crown, and to the community at large.

I am, SIR,

Your obedient servant,

WM. B. GURDON.

CAPTAIN RICHARD SPRYE,  
To

THE RT. HON. WILLIAM-EWART GLADSTONE, M.P.,  
*H.M.'s Chancellor of the Exchequer.*

SOUTH LODGE, CAMPDEN HILL, W.,  
7th September, 1865.

SIR,

I have the honour to acknowledge your Secretary's letter of yesterday, and though it will not be decorous in me further to urge upon you the opinions expressed in my previous letters, or to question the sentiments conveyed to me in your replies, the letter now acknowledged leads me to intrude upon you, briefly, yet once more.

It informs me, Sir,—“that you consider your duty to the Crown, and to the community at large, must control duty to your constituents.”

In reference to this, I would be permitted the honour of now further observing to you, that the propositions to which my letters sought to draw your attention, are considered to combine, in an unusual degree, a minister's duty “to the Crown, and to the community at large,” as well as to his constituents, where these are of the manufacturing,

commercial, and shipping classes. And if the two letters with which I have troubled you did not clearly shew this, it resulted from my wish to make them as short as their subject and object would permit.

The letter from myself and son to the Secretary of State for India in Council, of the 29th April last, a copy of which, as before stated, we requested that minister to be so good as to forward to you, did however shew, in numerous imperial and colonial points of view—political, naval, and military, as also commercial—that the proposed peaceable opening of a direct “Way” from Rangoon to the upper Kamboja river on the inland frontier of China Proper, was for the honour of the crown, the peace and security of Her Majesty’s Indian possessions, the prosperity and welfare of her Asiatic subjects generally, the benefit of the Home community, *and* the advantage of the Indian and Imperial *governments*; all of which I cannot but consider objects well worthy an efficient minister’s attention, and in every respect becoming him to pursue.

In my letter of the 17th ultimo, I stated that of the very numerous Memorials which had been sent up to H.M.’s ministers from the principal manufacturing districts and commercial ports of the United Kingdoms, in favor of the propositions, eleven had proceeded from important public bodies of South Lancashire. I have since learnt that the appeals to Government on the subject from that part of the Kingdom numbered *thirteen*, and were as follows, viz., from :—

The Liverpool Chamber of Commerce to the Premier . . .	2
The same to the President of the Board of Trade . . .	1
The Manchester Chamber of Commerce to the Premier . . .	2
The same to the President of the Board of Trade . . .	1
The Liverpool East India and China Association to the Secretary of State for India. . . . .	2
The same to the President of the Board of Trade . . .	1
The same to the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs . .	1
The National Cotton Supply Association, to the Premier . .	1
The Liverpool Shipowner’s Association, to the Premier . .	1
The same to the President of the Board of Trade . . .	1

Total 13

If, with these from South Lancashire, you will bear in your memory, Sir, that Memorials, as strongly advocating our propositions, have been also sent up to those ministers by the Chambers of Commerce of Bradford, Bristol, Cheshire 2, Glasgow, Gloucester, Halifax, Huddersfield 2, Leeds 3, London, Worcestershire 2, &c., I think you cannot fail to see that

“the community at large” both feel and *express* an interest in the question such as they could not do if it failed to embrace what was for “their good,” or if it involved a breach of the minister’s “duty to the crown.”

Doubtless, the projects thus earnestly advocated by those many important associations, receive their cordial support for this further sound reason : viz.—that their realization is, also, perfectly consistent with the pursuit of a policy of honorable peace and general international trade, tending to “the union of Nation with Nation throughout the wide world,”—of a prudent retrenchment of our now most overgrown public expenditure,—of a consequent, very much more needed, great reduction of the national taxation,—and of a general extension of our foreign trade, not merely over European countries but equally over those in the interior of Asia, as being the main source of a continued increase of our Nation’s wealth and of the comforts of the people.

You, above all men, must know, Sir, that our mineral riches, unlimited as they are by many considered to be,—our mechanical and manufacturing skill, unequalled as it is,—and our never-flagging national industry, aided as it day by day more and more is with improved machinery and unlimited steam power,—would together avail but little *without prosperous foreign trade*. And to you it must be equally well known that the continuous *extension* of this trade to every part of the world capable of being opened to it, even the most remote, is, *by growing competition* made, day by day, more and more imperative on those who are entrusted with the ruling power.

For your ready perusal of them, I have collected from Parliamentary Papers of the past Session, copies of the thirteen above enumerated appeals from your now constituents. I before stated to you, Sir, that the whole of the twenty-six, or more, of such Memorials to different of H.M.’s present cabinet ministers, had been replied to “either evasively, deceptively, or with official misrepresentation.” Strong as these expressions may appear to the inexperienced in such proceedings, more than ample proof of their truth is in our letter of the 29th of April to the Secretary of State for India, in Council ; in a portion of which we reviewed the notice taken of each Memorial by each minister, and the resulting government inaction, or worse than inaction, in the matter.

Finally, it will not be inappropriate here to submit to you the following passage from a letter which I wrote four years since—on the 20th of January 1862, to the Secretary of State for India in Council, on the TELEGRAPHIC part of my propositions, respecting which I have refrained from troubling you in this correspondence.

After alluding to the much of English officials' time and public money that had been devoted to extending the Telegraph from Constantinople to the Persian Gulf, etc., and to the encouragement H.M.'s Ministers were said to be giving to a Line from Bagdad to Kurrachee, *via* Teheran, Shiraz, Bunder-Abbas, and Beloochistan, in all 2,037 miles; I observed to the Indian Secretary:—

“The report, too, that H.M.'s Government now further contemplates attempting the far more questionable project of carrying land or sea wires along the whole of the wild Isthmus or Coast of Tenasserim and Malacca, to Singapore, to be extended thence by cables to Hong-Kong, a total distance of about 3,250 miles, would lead to the belief that my economic proposal to extend the Indian wires, *wholly by land*, from Shway-Gyen to Hong-Kong, about 1,230 miles only, would have been, from the first, most acceptable to the Lords of H.M.'s Treasury, to the Secretaries of State for Foreign Affairs, for the Colonies, and for War, to the First Lord of the Admiralty, and to the President of the Board of Trade; since each of these Ministers must now have vast national interests under his care in that very distant quarter of the world. As yet, however, beyond the ordinary official acknowledgment of my communications, I have not had the good fortune to be honored with individual encouragement or notice, by either of those high officers of State, in reference to the numerous papers and maps I have submitted to them on this subject during the past five years. Nevertheless, Sir, I do not despair. The increasing importance of my propositions, as regards COMMERCE, united to their perfect soundness, must, I consider, ere very long *command* the serious consideration of a British Ministry. For, unlike some projects which have lately been favoured with Government patronage, what I propose is really honest in itself, simple in its character, inexpensive to execute, easy to preserve in working order, and so manifestly for the public good, that official action in it, if properly directed, can neither involve waste of the public money or ministerial discredit.”

I offer to you, Sir, all proper apologies for my repeated and, I fear, too free intrusion upon you; assuring you that, when it shall please you “in duty to the Crown, to the community at large,” and to your constituents, to take these great imperial and commercial questions of direct trade and telegraphic communication between Rangoon and the Shan States and West of China into your individual unbiassed consideration—as, sooner or later, you must have to do—it will afford me and my son real gratification to place at your command all the information, papers, and

maps you may desire, that we possess, additional to what we have put into print or embodied in our extended correspondence on the subject, since 1856, with different others of H.M.'s present ministers.

I have the honour to remain,  
 SIR, for self and son,  
 Your humble servant,  
 RICHARD SPRYE.

THE RT. HON. WILLIAM-EWART GLADSTONE, M.P.,  
*H.M.'s Chancellor of the Exchequer,*

To  
 CAPTAIN RICHARD SPRYE.

11, DOWNING STREET, WHITEHALL,  
 12th September, 1865.

SIR,  
 I am directed by the Chancellor of the Exchequer to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 7th instant.

I am, SIR,  
 Your obedient servant,  
 WM. B. GURDON.

CAPTAIN RICHARD SPRYE

To  
 THE RT. HON. WILLIAM-EWART GLADSTONE, M.P.,  
*H.M.'s Chancellor of the Exchequer,*

SOUTH LODGE, CAMPDEN HILL, W.,  
 20th October, 1865.

SIR,  
 Friends who take an interest in my efforts to effect the commercial opening of the inland Western provinces of China proper, and the extension of the Indo-European Telegraph, by land, from Pegu to Hong-Kong and the Chinese open ports, wishing to peruse the correspondence which I had the honor to have with you on those subjects in

August and September last, I have decided to print it for private circulation; presuming that you have no objection to my so doing.

A printed copy shall be forwarded to you on its receipt from the printer.

I have the honor to remain,

SIR,

Your humble servant,

RICHARD SPRYE.

THE RT. HON. WILLIAM-EWART GLADSTONE, M.P.,

*H.M.'s Chancellor of the Exchequer,*

To

CAPTAIN RICHARD SPRYE.

11, DOWNING STREET, WHITEHALL,

24th October, 1865.

SIR,

The Chancellor of the Exchequer desires me to thank you for your obliging intimation in your letter of the 20th. As the paper is to be for private circulation only, Mr. Gladstone need make no remark on your design.

I am SIR,

Your obedient servant,

W. II. GLADSTONE.



# MEMORIALS,

REFERRED TO IN THE PRECEDING CORRESPONDENCE, FROM THE  
CHAMBERS OF COMMERCE, EAST INDIA AND CHINA, SHIPPING,  
AND COTTON SUPPLY ASSOCIATIONS, OF SOUTH LANCASHIRE, TO  
THE FIRST LORD OF HER MAJESTY'S TREASURY AND OTHER  
CABINET MINISTERS, IN FAVOR OF THE OPENING OF A DIRECT  
COMMERCE WITH THE SHAN STATES AND INLAND WEST OF CHINA,  
BY RAILWAY FROM THE PORT OF RANGOON.

IN ADDITION TO THE FOLLOWING MEMORIALS FROM SOUTH LANCASHIRE, MANY OTHER MEMORIALS IN FAVOR OF THIS EXTENSION OF OUR FOREIGN COMMERCE HAVE BEEN SENT UP TO THE FIRST LORD OF HER MAJESTY'S TREASURY AND OTHER CABINET MINISTERS, BY THE CHAMBERS OF COMMERCE OF BRADFORD, BRISTOL, CHESHIRE—2, GLASGOW, GLOUCESTER, HALIFAX, HUDDERSFIELD—2, LEEDS—3, LONDON, WORCESTERSHIRE—2, ETC.; ALL OF WHICH, WITH THE REPLIES TO THEM, WILL BE APPENDED TO OUR SUCCEEDING PAMPHLET, No. viii.

R. S.

R. H. F. S.

THE PRESIDENT OF THE MANCHESTER CHAMBER OF COMMERCE,

To

THE RT. HON. VISCOUNT PALMERSTON, K.G., G.C.B., M.P.,  
*First Lord of H.M.'s Treasury.*

MANCHESTER CHAMBER OF COMMERCE,  
12th July, 1860.

MY LORD,

The Directors of the Chamber of Commerce of Manchester desire to represent to your Lordship that they have had under their consideration for some time past the question of our relations with the Chinese, with reference mainly to the arrangements which it will be eventually advisable to make for the security of commerce and the orderly and peaceable conduct of affairs, without which trade cannot be expected to flourish; but that the Chamber has abstained from expressing the views it entertains, until the expeditions of Lord Elgin and Baron Gros have been brought to a conclusion, when the proper course to be pursued by our Consuls and Representatives in China can be deliberated upon free from the difficulties by which the question is at present surrounded.

This Chamber trusts, however, that a settlement may shortly be arrived at by the Representatives in China of Great Britain and France, and that our intercourse with the Chinese may at length be placed on a satisfactory basis.

This Chamber has had pressed upon its notice that the negotiations of our Representative may be made available to provide for the opening up of the commerce of the WESTERN PORTION of the Chinese Empire, by means of communication from the British possessions in Pegu. This Chamber has no occasion to occupy your Lordship's time in dwelling on the increasing trade between this country and the port of Rangoon, or on the friendly relations which are understood to exist with the King of Burma, whose dominions intervene between Pegu and the south-western Chinese frontier. This Chamber understands that a considerable traffic already exists between the Chinese, who make use of their south-west frontier city of Esmok as the emporium of the trade of this western district of China, and the Shan and Burman merchants; and that were facilities given for the construction of roads, or other communications, from Pegu towards Esmok, such a measure would confer the greatest benefits upon the interests of commerce.

The Directors of this Chamber of Commerce have, therefore, to urge that a communication be made by Her Majesty's Government to Lord Elgin, calling his Lordship's immediate attention to the expediency of the western half of the Chinese Empire being opened to our commerce, overland; by arranging that the Chinese frontier city of Esmok shall be made an open inland mart, under such regulations and provisions as may be in the circumstances advisable.

They have also respectfully to suggest that an Envoy be instructed to proceed to His Majesty the King of Burma to announce that Her Majesty the Queen has assumed the direct government of her territories in India, and to express Her Majesty's desire for the maintenance of

friendship and amity with His Majesty; so that the subjects of each Power, living as they do in contiguity and free intercourse, being protected and encouraged in the pursuit of commerce, may develop the resources of the countries in which they dwell, as also of the new and important western portion of the Chinese Empire, which it is hoped may thus be opened to our commerce.

I have the honor to be, &c.,

EDMUND POTTER,

*President.*

There is no reply to, or even acknowledgment of, this in the Parliamentary Return—"China, No. 5, 1864."

No. 2.

THE SECRETARY TO THE MANCHESTER CHAMBER OF COMMERCE,

To

THE RT. HON. LORD JOHN RUSSELL, M.P.,

*H.M.'s Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.*

MANCHESTER CHAMBER OF COMMERCE,

12th July, 1860.

MY LORD,

I have the honour to transmit for your Lordship's perusal copy of a letter this day addressed by the President of this Chamber to Lord Palmerston, on the subject of our relations with China. (See No. 1.)

I have the honor to be, &c.,

HUGH FLEMING,

*Secretary.*

There is no reply to, or acknowledgment of, this in the Parliamentary Return—"China, No. 5, 1864." Nor does any letter appear there to the Secretary of State for India, to which the following is a reply.

No. 3.

T. G. BARING, Esq., M.P.,

*Under Secretary of State for India,*

To

THE SECRETARY TO THE MANCHESTER CHAMBER OF COMMERCE,

INDIA OFFICE,

3rd August, 1860.

SIR,

I am directed by Sir Charles Wood to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 12th ultimo, inclosing a communication addressed by the President of the Manchester Chamber of Commerce to Lord Palmerston, (See No. 1.), on the subject of our commercial relations with China, and to thank you for the same.

I am, &c.,

T. G. BARING.

## No. 4.

THE PRESIDENT OF THE LIVERPOOL CHAMBER OF COMMERCE,  
To  
THE RT. HON. VISCOUNT PALMERSTON, K.G., G.C.B., M.P.,  
*First Lord of H.M.'s Treasury.*

CHAMBER OF COMMERCE, LIVERPOOL.  
23rd August, 1860.

MY LORD,

I have been requested by the Council of this Chamber to bring under your Lordship's notice the proposal for opening commercial intercourse with WESTERN CHINA, by way of Rangoon, through Pegu and Burma.

As the question has already been laid before you in detail, and the advantages which would accrue to commerce and shipping pointed out, the Council purposely abstain from entering fully into the subject. They, however, wish me to assure you that they have investigated and given every consideration to it; and, as far as they are able to form an opinion, they conceive that such a proposal is deserving of the best attention of Her Majesty's Government, as well in a political as in a commercial sense.

The Council do not presume to point out any means by which the proposal may be carried out; but they take the liberty of suggesting whether, since the Government of British India is now under the direct control of the Crown, it might not be desirable that Her Majesty should be represented by a suitable Envoy at the Court of Burma, for the promotion of British interests in general in that country, as well as to secure the co-operation of the Burmans in the proposal here alluded to: and also that, by the construction of good roads from Rangoon through Pegu and Burnia to the Chinese south-western frontier, and the introduction into any new treaty with China of stipulations for opening the Chinese frontier city of Esmok for commercial purposes, on similar terms to the open ports on the seaboard, this important object might be attained; and they trust that Her Majesty's Government will be pleased to take such steps in the matter as may be deemed most desirable.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

WM. JNO. TOMLINSON,  
*President.*

## No. 5.

EDMOND HAMMOND, Esq.,  
*Under Secretary of State, Foreign Office,*  
To  
WM. JNO. TOMLINSON, Esq.,  
*President of the Liverpool Chamber of Commerce.*

FOREIGN OFFICE.  
27th August, 1860.

SIR,

I am directed by Lord John Russell to inform you that Viscount Palmerston has referred to his Lordship the Memorial signed

by you on behalf of the Liverpool Chamber of Commerce, urging that in any negotiations which may follow a pacification of affairs with China, stipulations should be included for opening up the Western Provinces of that Empire to British trade, by an overland route from the port of Rangoon; and I am to state to you that the project advocated in your Memorial does not appear to Lord John Russell to be feasible, at least for the present.

I am, &c.,

E. HAMMOND.

No. 6.

THE PRESIDENT OF THE LIVERPOOL CHAMBER OF COMMERCE,  
To  
THE RT. HON. THOS. MILNER GIBSON, M.P.,  
*President to the Board of Trade,*

CHAMBER OF COMMERCE, LIVERPOOL,  
5th September, 1862.

SIR,

I have been requested by the Council of this Chamber to state that they have had under serious consideration the question of opening up a trade with the WESTERN PORTION of the Chinese Empire; and to bring the matter before you, in the hope that Her Majesty's Government will deem it worthy of attention.

It has been strongly represented to this Council that, if moderate transit duties were established by Treaty with the King of Burma, there is reason to believe private enterprise would improve the means of communication with that country, and develop a considerable trade with it.

The Council take the liberty of suggesting that it may be desirable to ascertain the opinions of the Representatives of Her Majesty in India and British Burma upon this subject; with the view, should those opinions be in accordance with the representations now made, of negotiating a Treaty with the King of Burma.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

THOMAS CHILTON,  
*President.*

No. 7.

JAMES BOOTH, ESQ.,  
*Chief Secretary to the Board of Trade,*  
To  
THOMAS CHILTON, ESQ.,  
*President of the Liverpool Chamber of Commerce.*

OFFICE OF COMMITTEE OF PRIVY COUNCIL FOR TRADE,  
WHITEHALL, 10th September, 1862.

SIR,

I am directed by the Lords of the Committee of Privy Council for Trade to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 5th instant, suggesting the adoption of measures for establishing commercial

intercourse with Western China; and I am to state to you, for the information of the Council of the Liverpool Chamber of Commerce, that my Lords have referred the letter for the consideration of the Secretary of State for India.

I am, &c.,  
JAMES BOOTH.

No. 8.

THE PRESIDENT OF THE LIVERPOOL CHAMBER OF COMMERCE,  
To

THE RT. HON. SIR CHARLES WOOD, BART., G.C.B., M.P.,  
*H.M.'s Secretary of State for India.*

CHAMBER OF COMMERCE, LIVERPOOL,  
5th September, 1862.

SIR,

I have been requested by the Council of this Chamber to state that they have had under serious consideration the question of opening up a trade with the WESTERN PORTION of the Chinese Empire; and to bring the matter before you, in the hope that Her Majesty's Government will deem it worthy of attention.

It has been strongly represented to this Council that, if moderate transit duties were established by Treaty with the King of Burma, there is reason to believe private enterprise would improve the means of communication with that country and develop a considerable trade with it.

The Council take the liberty of suggesting that it may be desirable to ascertain the opinions of the Representatives of Her Majesty in India and British Burma upon this subject, with the view should those opinions be in accordance with the representations now made, of negotiating a Treaty with the King of Burma.

I have the honour to be, &c.,  
THOMAS CHILTON,  
*President.*

No. 9.

H. MERIVALE, ESQ., C.B.,  
*Under Secretary of State for India,*  
To

THOMAS CHILTON, ESQ.,  
*President of the Liverpool Chamber of Commerce.*

INDIA OFFICE,  
13th September, 1862.

SIR,

In reply to your letter of the 5th instant, inviting, on behalf of the Chamber of Commerce of Liverpool, the attention of the Secretary of State for India to the question of opening up a trade with the Western portion of China, through the Burman country, and "suggesting that it may be desirable to ascertain the opinions of the representatives of Her Majesty in India and British Burma;" I am

directed by Sir Charles Wood to inform you that he directed the notice of the Government of India to the subject in June 1861, and that he has recently received a despatch from that authority, stating,—“that the “ Chief Commissioner of British Burma has been desired to keep his “ attention directed to the prospects of trade with Western China, and “ to avail himself of every favourable opportunity to obtain a knowledge of the several routes which have been suggested for tapping the “ commerce of China in that quarter.”

I am, &c.,

HERMAN MERIVALE.

No. 10.

THE CHAIRMAN OF THE LIVERPOOL EAST INDIA AND CHINA

ASSOCIATION,

To

THE RT. HON. SIR CHARLES WOOD, BART., G.C.B., M.P.,  
*H.M.'s Secretary of State for India.*

LIVERPOOL,

23rd September, 1862.

SIR,

This Association having recently had under consideration the importance of opening a trade through Burma with the Western Provinces of China, I have been directed by the Committee to bring to the notice of Her Majesty's Government the favourable opportunity afforded by the proposed Mission of Colonel Phayre to Mandalay for obtaining further information on the subject, and for negotiating a Commercial treaty with the court of Ava, with a view to facilitate the transit of goods through the Burman territory.

I have, the honour to be, &c.,

KIRKMAN FINLAY.

No. 11.

J. COSMO MELVILL, Esq.,

*Secretary to the India Office,*

To

KIRKMAN FINLAY, Esq.,

*Chairman of the Liverpool East India and China Association.*

INDIA OFFICE,

25th September, 1862.

SIR,

In reply to your letter of the 26th instant, relative to the question of opening up a trade through Burma with the Western Provinces of China, I am directed by Sir Charles Wood to state, for the information of the East India and China Association, that he directed the notice of the Government of India to the subject in June 1861, and that he has recently received a despatch from that authority, stating,—“that “ the Chief Commissioner of British Burma has been desired to keep his “ attention directed to the prospects of trade with Western China, and



“to avail himself of every favourable opportunity to obtain a knowledge of the several routes which have been suggested for tapping the commerce of China in that quarter.”

I am, &c.,

J. COSMO MELVILL.

No. 12.

To

THE RT. HON. THOS. MILNER GIBSON, M.P.,

*President of the Board of Trade,*

THE MEMORIAL OF THE LIVERPOOL SHIPOWNER'S ASSOCIATION.

LIVERPOOL,

29th October, 1862.

SHEWETH,

1. That your Memorialists have had under their attentive consideration the desirability of opening up a direct trade with THE WESTERN PORTION of the Chinese Empire from the British port of Rangoon.

2. That upon a perusal of maps of the British Province of Pegu and Martaban, founded on surveys made by the Government of India, it appears to your Memorialists, that the best route for such a trade would be from Rangoon to the extreme north-east limit of the two provinces before named, on the river Salween.

3. That the present uncertainty as to the transit duties which might be levied by the King of Burma on goods passing through his territory is calculated to discourage any efforts of private enterprise to establish the proposed route, but your Memorialists have been led to believe that if an Ambassador was sent from Her Majesty the Queen to the King of Burma, (as was done in the case of Siam) it would be practicable at once to negotiate a Treaty with him, fixing a moderate scale of transit duties.

4. That your Memorialists being very largely interested in British shipping, will view with great satisfaction, as conducive also to the best interests of British manufacturers and commerce generally, in both exports and imports, the opening up by this route of what must prove an entirely new commerce, with upwards of 150,000,000 of Chinese and Tartar people, occupying fully a million of square miles of the earth, which your Memorialists are informed yields many valuable articles of commerce, including the precious metals, silk, tea, &c.

Your Memorialists, therefore, respectfully submit the above to your favourable consideration with a view to the negotiation of a Treaty with the King of Burma, fixing the transit duties across his territory, and the survey of the line of country from Rangoon to Kiang-Hung for a railway, tramway, or such other road as will suffice, through the whole year, for the transit of the commerce which may be confidently expected to pass over it.

All which your Memorialists respectfully submit.

FRANCIS A. CLINT,

*Chairman.*

No. 13.

SIR J. EMERSON TENNENT,  
*Joint Secretary to the Board of Trade,*  
 To  
 FRANCIS A. CLINT, Esq.,  
*Chairman of the Liverpool Shipowners' Association.*

OFFICE OF COMMITTEE OF PRIVY COUNCIL FOR TRADE,  
 WHITEHALL,  
 6th November, 1862.

SIR,

I am directed by the Lords of the Committee of Privy Council for Trade to acknowledge the receipt of the Memorial forwarded by you on the 29th ultimo, on behalf of the Liverpool Shipowners Association, suggesting the adoption of measures for establishing commercial intercourse with Western China; and I am to state to you, for the information of the Liverpool Shipowner's Association, that my Lords have referred the question for the consideration of the Secretary of State for India.

I am, &amp;c.,

J. E. TENNENT.

No. 14.

H. MERIVALE, Esq., C.B.,  
*Under Secretary of State for India,*  
 To  
 MESSRS. CARSON, ELLIS AND FIELD,  
*Secretaries to the Liverpool Shipowners' Association.*

INDIA OFFICE,  
 22nd November, 1862.

SIR,

In reply to your letter of the 23rd instant, relative to the question of opening up a trade through Burma with the Western Provinces of China, I am directed by Sir Charles Wood to state, for the information of the Liverpool Shipowners' Association, that he directed the notice of the Government of India to the subject in June 1861, and that he has recently received a despatch from that authority, stating,—“that the Chief Commissioner of British Burma has been desired to keep his attention directed to the prospects of trade with Western China, and to avail himself of every favourable opportunity to obtain a knowledge of the several routes which have been suggested for tapping the commerce of China in that quarter.”

I am, &amp;c.,

HERMAN MERIVALE.

No. 15.

To

THE RT. HON. VISCOUNT PALMERSTON, K.G., G.C.B., M.P.,  
*First Lord of H.M.'s Treasury.*

THE MEMORIAL OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS  
*Of the Manchester Chamber of Commerce.*  
BY THEIR CHAIRMAN.

CHAMBER OF COMMERCE, MANCHESTER,  
*2nd July, 1863.*

RESPECTFULLY SHEWETH,

That your Memorialists had the honour to address your Lordship in July 1860, on the subject of opening up the commerce of THE WESTERN PORTION of the Chinese Empire, across the British possession of Pegu; on which occasion your Memorialists pointed out the importance of cultivating friendly relations with the King of Burma.

That your Memorialists then further suggested that a Representative of Her Majesty should proceed to the Court of that King, and enter into negotiations with him for the encouragement of such a commerce with the Chinese Empire, across his dominions.

That your Memorialists most gratefully acknowledge the prompt action taken by Her Majesty's Government in this matter, and would point with satisfaction to the friendly disposition displayed by the King of Burma towards Great Britain, as evidenced by the terms of the Treaty he recently concluded with Her Majesty.

That it appears to your Memorialists that a most favourable opportunity is presented by the Treaty in question, for obtaining that access to the WESTERN PORTION of the Chinese Empire which has been so long desired, and the great advantage of which it is impossible to exaggerate.

That according to information which your Memorialists have received, it is essential to the effective realization of this important object, that a trade route should be established between the port of Rangoon and the south-western frontier of the Chinese Empire, across the north-east frontier of Pegu and the south-east corner of the Burman territory.

That as a preliminary to this it is most necessary that a reliable survey should be made of the line of country between Rangoon and Kiang-Hung, on the upper Kamboja or Meikong River, a distance of about 500 miles; one-half of which is on British territory, and the remainder on that of the King of Burma.

Your Memorialists would, therefore, respectfully request your Lordship to instruct the Viceroy of India to take steps to effect such survey: the expenses attending which will, in the opinion of your Memorialists, be far outweighed by the commercial advantages which must arise therefrom, both to this country and to India. And, further, that his Excellency may be instructed to use his influence with the King of Burma either to cause the portion of the route lying within his

dominions to be similarly surveyed, or to grant facilities to the British authorities in Pegu to carry out that object.

And your Memorialists will ever pray, &c.,

HENRY ASHWORTH,  
*Chairman.*

No reply or acknowledgment was sent by Lord Palmerston, or other Minister, to this Memorial; nor was it included in the Parliamentary Return—"China, 0.77., 1864." Being subsequently moved for, with other papers, it could not be found in the office of the First Lord of the Treasury or other Minister; but a duplicate copy of it having been furnished to the Treasury by the Manchester Chamber for the House of Commons, it was presented in the Parliamentary Return—"China, No. 2., 1865."

### No. 16.

MEMORIAL FROM THE MANCHESTER COTTON SUPPLY ASSOCIATION,  
To  
THE RT. HON. VISCOUNT PALMERSTON, K.G., G.C.B., M.P.,  
*First Lord of H.M.'s Treasury.*

MANCHESTER,  
15th July, 1863.

RESPECTFULLY SHEWETH,

That your Memorialists have heard with much satisfaction that Treaty relations have again been entered into between Her Majesty and the King of Burma.

That your Memorialists observe from a copy of the Treaty, printed in India, that one of its provisions is,—“that British merchants shall be “allowed to settle and hold lands for the erection of houses of business “in any part of the Burman territory;” and that another Article is,—“that people, from whatever country or nation, who may wish to “proceed to the British territory shall be allowed by the Burman Ruler “to pass without hindrance.”

That your Memorialists have been informed that between British Pegu and the south-west of China are the three Burman Shan Provinces of Moni, Kiang-Tung, and Kiang-Hung, which were severally visited by Dr. Richardson and Lieutenant-Colonel McLeod, now Major-General Commanding in Pegu, under the directions of the Supreme Government of India, in 1836 and 1837, with a view to ascertain their commercial capabilities, and to open, if possible, a trade with them and the west of China from Moulmein; and that these officers found the country they traversed producing much cotton, all of which was collected by Chinese caravans and carried into China to be manufactured; some of the many Chinese so seen by Dr. Richardson being within twenty miles of the frontier of what has since become British Pegu.

That your Memorialists, therefore, consider that if a commercial way were opened from the port of Rangoon across eastern Pegu, in a direct line to the above-named three Burman Shan Provinces, the cotton there grown, reported to be of a superior quality, would find its way to Rangoon for shipment to England.

That your Memorialists are advised that there are upwards of 40,000,000 acres of waste land in the Provinces of Pegu and Martalan, very much of which could be made highly productive; and that the suggested road would induce Chinese to come down from the south-west of China to settle on these waste lands, which, under their cultivation, would furnish large supplies of cotton.

Your Memorialists, therefore, respectfully request your Lordship to take the subject into serious consideration, and to instruct the Viceroy of India to open up a commercial way between the port of Rangoon and the extreme north-east frontier of British Pegu, on or near the Salween river; and further, to move the King of Burma for a continuation of such commercial way from that British frontier, through Kiang-Tung, to Kiang-Hung on the upper Kamboja or Meikong river,

And your Memorialists will ever pray.

JOHN CHEETHAM,

*President.*

No. 17.

T. G. BARING, Esq., M.P.,

*Under Secretary of State for India,*

To

JOHN CHEETHAM, Esq.,

*President of the Cotton Supply Association.*

INDIA OFFICE,

28th July, 1863.

SIR,

I am directed by the Secretary of State for India in Council to acknowledge the receipt of the Memorial of the Cotton Supply Association, addressed to Lord Palmerston, on the subject of the capabilities of the Burman Shan Provinces of Moni, Kiang-Tung, and Kiang-Hung, for the cultivation and production of cotton; and requesting that steps may be taken to open up communication between Rangoon, the port of British Burma, and the provinces in question.

In reply I am to state that the matter to which Lord Palmerston's attention is called has already been under the consideration of this Department, and that instructions have been issued to the Government of India,—“to report on the best means to be adopted for developing the “resources and improving the intercommunications of British Burma.”

I am, &c.,

T. G. BARING.

No. 18.

THE SECRETARY TO THE LIVERPOOL EAST INDIA AND CHINA ASSOCIATION,  
To

THE RT. HON. THOS. MILNER GIBSON, M.P.,

*President of the Board of Trade.*

3, BROWN'S BUILDINGS, LIVERPOOL,

28th August, 1863.

SIR,

I am instructed by the Committee of the East India and China Association of Liverpool to address you on the subject of overland communication with China, by way of British Pegu and Burma.

The Committee are of opinion that the Treaty recently concluded with the Burman Government affords a most favourable opportunity for extending British commerce to the south-west and western provinces of the Chinese Empire; and they believe that the establishment of a trade route between the port of Rangoon and the south-west border of the province of Yunnan would greatly facilitate this desirable object.

The Committee would, therefore, respectfully suggest that, as a preliminary measure, the Viceroy of India be instructed to order a survey of the country between Rangoon and the upper Kamboja or Meikong river; or that, if this be deemed undesirable, the opinion of the Chief Commissioner in British Burma be obtained as to the feasibility of the project.

I have the honor to be, &c.,

J. B. COOPER.

No. 19.

T. H. FARRER, Esq.,

*Chief Secretary to the Board of Trade,*

To

J. B. COOPER, Esq.,

*Secretary to the Liverpool East India and China Association.*

OFFICE OF COMMITTEE OF PRIVY COUNCIL FOR TRADE,

4th September, 1863.

SIR,

I am directed by the Lords of the Committee of Privy Council for Trade to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 28th ultimo, offering, on behalf of the Committee of the East India and China Association of Liverpool, certain suggestions with reference to overland communication with China by way of British Pegu and Burma, and to inform you that copies of your letter have been transmitted to the Foreign Office and the Secretary of State for India.

I am, &c.,

T. H. FARRER.

No. 20.

THE PRESIDENT OF THE LIVERPOOL CHAMBER OF COMMERCE,

To

THE RT. HON. VISCOUNT PALMERSTON, K.G., G.C.B., M.P.,

*First Lord of H.M.'s Treasury.*

LIVERPOOL,

6th October, 1863.

MY LORD,

I have been requested by this Council again to bring before the notice of your Lordship the question of opening up a trade with the western portion of China; and to call to your remembrance the fact that in August 1860, and September 1862, this Chamber addressed communications to Departments of H. M.'s Government upon the subject.

Since then this Chamber has been happy to learn that a Treaty of Commerce has been arranged between H. M.'s Government and the King of Burma, which permits the settlement of British merchants in Burma and of Burman merchants in the British territory, for purposes of trade.

For the full development of the intentions of that Treaty, this Chamber is of opinion that, if a thorough practical survey, under the superintendence and direction of duly qualified Engineers, were made, in order to ascertain the most direct and easy line for a rail or tramway for the conveyance of goods and passengers between Rangoon and Kiang-Hung, on the upper Kamboja or Meikong river, private enterprize would most likely be used to establish the means of communication between that British possession and Western China.

The Council of this Chamber, therefore, humbly submit this subject to the favourable consideration of your Lordship, in the hope that the suggestion they have ventured to make may receive the careful attention of Her Majesty's Government and of your Lordship.

I have the honor to be, &c.,

R. A. MACFIE.

No. 21.

HERMAN MERIVALE, Esq., C.B.,

*Under Secretary of State for India,*

To

R. A. MACFIE, Esq.,

*President of the Liverpool Chamber of Commerce.*

INDIA OFFICE,

16th October, 1863.

SIR,

I am directed by the Secretary of State for India in Council to acknowledge your letter of the 6th instant, addressed to Viscount Palmerston, praying that the Government of India may be instructed to depute a qualified engineer to survey the country between Rangoon and Kiang-Hung, with a view to the eventual construction of a rail or tramway, as may be found best, between those two points; and I am to inform you in reply, with reference to my letter to your address of the 13th September, 1862,—“that the Government of India have been “instructed to report on the best means to be adopted for developing “the resources and improving the intercommunication of British Burma.” Pending the receipt of their report, Sir C. Wood is not prepared to issue any further or more specific orders on the subject.

I am, &c.,

HERMAN MERIVALE.

No. 22.

MEMORIAL FROM THE LIVERPOOL SHIPOWNERS' ASSOCIATION,

To

THE RT. HON. VISCOUNT PALMERSTON, K.G., G.C.B., M.P.,

*First Lord of H.M.'s Treasury.*

LIVERPOOL,

11th October, 1863.

RESPECTFULLY SHEWETH,

1. That having had much under their consideration the great importance to the manufacturing, mercantile, and shipping interests of the United Kingdoms, of opening up a direct commerce with the West of China, overland from the port of Rangoon, your Lordship's Memorialists

had the honour, in the month of October, 1862, to address a Memorial to H. M.'s Secretary of State for India, praying his favourable consideration to the negotiation of a Treaty with the King of Burma, fixing the transit duties across his territory; and to the survey of the line of country from Rangoon to Kiang-Hung, on the Meikong or upper Kamboja river, for a railway, tramway, or such other road, as would suffice for the extension of the commerce which might be confidently expected to pass over it.

2. That your Memorialists have, therefore, learnt with extreme satisfaction that, since then, such a Treaty has been entered into between the King of Burma and Her Majesty's Viceroy and Governor-General of India in Her Majesty's behalf, the provisions of which Treaty, if rightly availed of, are very favourable to the establishment of such a commerce with Western China.

3. That to make the Treaty available, your Memorialists believe that it is necessary a road should be made by the most direct practicable route over the line of country from Rangoon to Kiang-Hung.

Your Memorialists, therefore, very respectfully pray your Lordship that you will be pleased to cause early instructions to be transmitted to Her Majesty's Viceroy and Governor-General of India, to have a survey made to ascertain the best route for merchandize between Rangoon and Kiang-Hung; and that such survey may be carried out by some well-known and approved engineer, so as to insure, as far as possible, the selection of the best route.

And your Memorialists will ever pray.

THOMAS CHILTON,  
*Chairman.*

No. 23.

HERMAN MERIVALE, Esq., C.B.,  
*Under Secretary of State for India,*  
To  
THOMAS CLINTON, Esq.,  
*Chairman of the Liverpool Shipowners' Association.*

INDIA OFFICE,  
16th October, 1863.

SIR,

I am directed by the Secretary of State for India in Council to acknowledge your letter of the 11th instant, addressed to Viscount Palmerston, praying that the Government of India may be instructed to depute a qualified engineer to survey the country between Rangoon and Kiang-Hung, with a view to the eventual construction of a road, as may be found best, between those two points; and I am to inform you in reply, with reference to my letter to your address of the 22nd November, 1862,—“that, the Government of India have been instructed “to report on the best means to be adopted for developing the resources “and improving the intercommunication of British Burma.” Pending the receipt of their report, Sir C. Wood is not prepared to issue any further or more specific orders on the subject.

I am, &c.,  
HERMAN MERIVALE.



## 24.

THE SECRETARY TO THE LIVERPOOL EAST INDIA AND CHINA ASSOCIATION,  
To

THE RT. HON. EARL RUSSELL,  
*H.M.'s Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.*

LIVERPOOL,

13th November, 1863.

MY LORD,

I am directed by the East India and China Association to inquire whether your Lordship has received a copy of a Memorial addressed by this Association to the Board of Trade, [No. 18, preceding,] relative to overland communication with China by way of British Pegu and Burma, which copy was said to have been transmitted to your Lordship on the 4th September last; and I have further respectfully to inquire whether Her Majesty's Government have decided upon taking any action therein.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

J. B. COOPER,  
*Secretary.*

## No. 25.

EDMUND HAMMOND, ESQ.,

*Under Secretary of State, Foreign Affairs,*

To

J. B. COOPER, ESQ.,

*Secretary to the Liverpool East India and China Association.*

FOREIGN OFFICE,

25th November, 1863.

SIR,

In reply to your letter of the 13th instant, I am directed by Earl Russell to state to you that the letter addressed by the East India and China Association to the Board of Trade, on the subject of a proposal for establishing a line of communication between India and China by way of Pegu and Burma, was communicated by that Department to his Lordship, but the matter to which it relates more immediately comes within the department of Her Majesty's Secretary of State for India, to whom the Association should address themselves.

I am, &c.,

E. HAMMOND.

## No. 26.

THE SECRETARY TO THE LIVERPOOL EAST INDIA AND CHINA ASSOCIATION,  
To

THE RT. HON. SIR CHARLES WOOD, BART., G.C.B.,  
*H.M.'s Secretary of State for India.*

LIVERPOOL,

27th November, 1863.

SIR,

Having applied to the Foreign Office to know whether Her Majesty's Government intend adopting any steps to promote the survey

of the route from Rangoon with the view of establishing a line of over-land communication between India and China by way of Pegu and Burma, I am referred by Earl Russell to you for information upon the subject, and I shall esteem it a favour if you will oblige me with a reply, embodying the information required by this Association.

I have the honor to be, &c.,

J. D. COOPER.

No. 27.

HERMAN MERIVALE, ESQ., C.B.,

*Under Secretary of State for India,*

To

J. D. COOPER, ESQ.,

*Secretary to the Liverpool East India and China Association.*

INDIA OFFICE,

7th December, 1865.

SIR,

I am directed by the Secretary of State for India in Council to acknowledge your letter of 11th instant, addressed to Viscount Palmerston, praying that the Government of India may be instructed to depute a qualified engineer to survey the country between Rangoon and Kiang-Hung, with a view to the eventual construction of a road, as may be found best, between those two points; and I am to inform you in reply, with reference to my letter to your address of the 22nd November, 1862,—“that, the Government of India have been instructed to report “on the best means to be adopted for developing the resources and improving the intercommunication of British Burma.” Pending the receipt of their report, Sir C. Wood is not prepared to issue any further or more specific orders on the subject.

I am, &c.,

HERMAN MERIVALE.

---

The foregoing thirteen Memorials to Her Majesty's Ministers, from the Commercial Chambers and Associations of South Lancashire only, and the replies thereto, are taken from Parliamentary Papers,—“CHINA 0.77., 1864,” and “CHINA, No. 2., 1865.” In those Papers, there also appear the thirteen other Memorials, from the following Commercial Chambers and Associations of other manufacturing and commercial parts of the United Kingdoms, on the same subject, viz., from :—

The Bradford Chamber of Commerce to the Premier .	1.
The Chamber of the Cheshire and Worcestershire Salt Proprietors to the Premier . . . . .	2.
The Bristol Chamber of Commerce to the Premier .	1.
The Glasgow Chamber of Commerce to the Premier .	1.
The Gloucester Chamber of Commerce to the Premier .	1.

The Halifax Chamber of Commerce to the Premier . . .	1.
The Huddersfield Chamber of Commerce to the Premier . . .	2.
The Leeds Chamber of Commerce to the Premier . . .	2.
The Leeds Chamber of Commerce to the Foreign Secretary . . .	1.
The London East India and China Association to the Premier . . . . .	1.

All of which, with the replies to them, we purpose to set out in a succeeding pamphlet.

RICHARD SPRYE,  
REYNELL-H. F. SPRYE.

---



VII.

[NOT PRINTED FOR SALE.]

**COMMERCE**

WITH

**THE TWO HUNDRED MILLIONS OF PEOPLE**

OF

**THE SHAN STATES,  
WESTERN CHINA,**

&c., &c., &c.,

BY RAILWAY, FROM THE PORT OF

**RANGOON;**

**AND EXTENSION OF THE INDO-EUROPEAN TELEGRAPH,**

BY LAND,

**TO HONG-KONG, THE CHINESE OPEN PORTS,**

PEKING, ETC.

**COLONIAL OFFICE**

WITH A MAP.

BY

**CAPTAIN RICHARD SPRYE**

AND

**REYNELL-HELE-FOWELL SPRYE, Esq.**

LONDON: 1866.

SHAHROKH MIRZA, SULTAN OF PERSIA,  
SON AND HEIR OF TIMUR THE GREAT,

TO

DAY-MING KHAN, EMPEROR OF CHINA.

*Written at Herat, in 1408, and sent by Ambassadors to Peking.*

"I trust, also, that your Majesty will strengthen the foundations of our affection and friendship by keeping open free communications between all parts of our two empires,—that travellers and merchants may always pass to and fro unmolested,—that our subjects, in all our cities, may be refreshed with the fruits of peaceful commerce,—and that means of support may ever flow from it to all ranks of our people, and abound continually among them."

DAY-MING KHAN, EMPEROR OF CHINA ;  
SON OF MING, THE VICTORIOUS FOUNDER OF HIS DYNASTY,

TO

SHAHROKH MIRZA, SULTAN OF PERSIA.

*Written at Peking, in 1409, and sent by Ambassadors to Herat.*

"Well may we afford safe protection and encouragement to the merchants of your country, for we deem it consonant to the will of Heaven to do so. Indeed, how can the Most High be but well pleased with those rulers who practise mutual affection, and make one heart reflect the sentiments of another, as mirror set opposite to mirror, though at a distance. Henceforth it is requisite that the proofs of our true friendship be augmented, and that ambassadors and merchants be always passing and re-passing between us and our countries, without interruption ; that our subjects may all live in security, ease, and plenty. So will the Most High grant to ourselves His goodness and mercy."

"So long as your subjects can render their commodities at cheaper rates than the people of other nations, they will enjoy the Commerce of the World in the most extended degree ; but no longer."

*The dying address to his Son, of AMURATH the Legislator.*

"Successful Commerce requires beneficial transport of the Merchandise, which involves three essentials :—

- I. Its safety, and protection from injury.
- II. Rapidity in its carriage.
- III. Cheapness thereof, and of Insurance."

"The ROMANS thoroughly understood the value of GOOD ROADS ; regarding them as the essential means for the maintenance of their empire in the first instance, and of social prosperity in the next. Wherever they went, they opened up the communications of the countries they subdued ; and the WAYS which they made were among the best of the kind. Their ROADS, not less than their LEGIONS, made them masters of the world."

# CORRESPONDENCE

BETWEEN

CAPTAIN RICHARD SPRYE,

AND

THE RT. HON. WILLIAM-EWART GLADSTONE,

M.P. FOR SOUTH LANCASHIRE,

CHANCELLOR OF H.M.'s EXCHEQUER, &c.,

ON

THE COMMERCIAL OPENING OF

THE SHAN STATES,

WESTERN CHINA, &c.,

AND EXTENSION OF

THE INDO-EUROPEAN TELEGRAPH,

BY LAND,

TO HONG-KONG, THE CHINESE OPEN PORTS,

PEKING, ETC.

COLLECTED BY

WITH A MAP.

LONDON: 1866.





